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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. I. JULY, 1919. NO. 3.

AN ANCIENT MONUMENT

BY

REV. BENJAMIN L. ANCELL D.D.

IN Pao-ying (寶 應), a city on the Grand Canal some eighty miles north of the Yangtze river, there is to be seen a fine stone monument, which undoubtedly dates back to the Han Dynasty. My attention was called to it by a pupil of mine from that city, and it is to this pupil that I am indebted for an account of it.

This stone is a part of one of the Stone Gates (石 門) which were common in the Han Dynasty, and which were located at the graves of distinguished men. They might be called tombstones, but they differ from tombstones of the present time in that their meaning was apparently less to preserve the memory of the deceased than to be an offering of beauty at his tomb. The sculptures on the stones often took the form of pictures of renowned men. Of these sculptural

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monuments of the age indicated there are several remaining in North China in Honan and Shantung; but in South China (that is, south of the Huai River, the ancient boundary) only two are known, one at Li Shui (澧水) in North Kiangsu, and this one at Pao-ying. Of the two, the latter is the more famous, because it bears a portrait of Confucius.

Its recent history is as follows. During the reign of Ch'ien Lung a farmer of the She-yang (射陽) district, digging in his field, encountered this sculptured stone, and dug it out. It was heard of and acquired by a citizen of Yangchow, who brought it to his home. After remaining in Yangchow for some tens of years, its return to She-yang, now called Pao-ying, was effected by an official, Chu Shih-tuan (朱世端), a native of that district. It was there erected in a beautiful garden, has been preserved with great care, and has attracted many visitors. Several accounts of it have been written and published by Chinese, the most important being the one prepared by the scholar-official who secured the restoration of the tablet to Pao-ying. His book is published under the title 朱世端漢射陽石門畫像攷.

The stone gates consisted of two large flat stones, intended to represent the two leaves of a door, with upright stones at the sides and one across the top. Of this specimen only one leaf, one upright, and a piece of the cross stone have been preserved. It is said that at the time they were discovered, both leaves were dug up, but one was allowed to fall from a boat into the lake and has never been recovered. The stone has pictures or drawings on both faces, those on one side (陽面) being larger than those on the back (陰面). The pictures* on the faces are divided horizontally into three parts of equal size. On the front face, the top picture represents the meeting of Confucius and Lao-tze. The former stands near the middle, facing towards the left. Lao-tze is on the left, facing Confucius, and a disciple stand on

* These 'pictures' are described as being in low relief below the surface of the stone. It is evidently the common style of primitive sculpture, described by Paléologue (*L'art chinois*, p. 132) in the words "le procédé consiste à tenir la surface des figures dans le même plan que le champ, en les cernant simplement d'un contour creux à angles émoussés."—[*Editor*, N. C. REVIEW.]

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the right side. It is supposed that this refers to the occasion on which Confucius asked the old Philosopher to explain to him certain old rites (孔子問禮於老子); which inquiry is the basis of the Taoist boast that Confucius was a disciple of Lao-tze.

The picture in the central part of the tablet is not at all clear. It consists of some large figure whose outlines are so indistinct that it has given rise to many guesses as to what it really is. One is that it is the figure of a Buddha. But probably Chu Shih-tuan is correct—he saw it when it was fresher than did most of the writers about it: and he describes it as a picture of an ancient form of wine-cup called a *fêng* (豐), or sometimes, in reference to the intemperate habits of the last ruler of the Fêng kingdom, "the Duke of Fêng" (豐侯). The wine vessels figured prominently in feasts given in honour of pupils who had distinguished themselves in the art of archery, during which feasts the master at a certain time would order his pupils to bring in the *fêng*. In the picture may be descried the forms of two men, one on each side of the vessel, supposed to be ready to bear it in. At some distance from the *fêng* (if so it be) is a picture of a musical instrument, called a *chien ku* (建鼓). By it also are to be seen two bearers, one on either side. These objects may have reference to a skill in arts on the part of the deceased.

The bottom part of the front face has a picture of an ancient kitchen, in which are shown three men (cooks), a well, an oven, certain cooking vessels, cups, chopsticks, a fish being cooked on the range, meat on a trident, etc. Similar kitchen pictures are seen (it is said) on others of these stone gates found in the north.

The rear face of this tablet also shows three pictures, but smaller than those in front, and with less detail. On the top is the picture of a large bird; in the middle is one of an animal's head with a ring in its mouth; and at the bottom, a soldier with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left; supposed to be a knight of yè olden time engaged in a military dance (武舞). None of these figures seem to have engaged the particular attention of the archæologists, as have those on the front face.

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It is the tradition that the part of the monument that was lost in the lake bore pictures of the ancient sages Pai-yi (伯夷) and Shu-ch'i (叔齊), two brothers famous in Chinese legend for their unselfishness and other fine moral qualities, who have been examples for later generations, even Mencius speaking of them as the purest of sages. This tradition is the more probable because on the fragment of the top piece that remai re the three characters 夷齊像; *i.e.*, the likeness of Pai-yi and Shu-ch'i. It was at first supposed that the monument marked the resting-place of these two honoured brothers, but that is not now believed to be the case.

It was possible to obtain a very fair rubbing of the tablet, showing the character of the pictures. The value of this antique stone is understood by the people, and the citizens of Pao-ying take great pride in its possession. As one of the most ancient of the monuments of the province of Kiangsu, and as bearing one of the few early pictures of the great sage Confucius, it deserves to be better known among those who unite with the Chinese in a desire to preserve from oblivion, as well as from physical destruction, their historical antiquities.

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LA DOMINATION CHINOISE EN ANNAM

(111 av. J. C.—939 ap. J. C.)

PAR

CH. B. MAYBON

APRÈS la défaite de la dynastie 趙, le pays des Việt du Sud 南越, comme le reste des cent 百越, d'ailleurs, fut incorporé au territoire chinois. On admet généralement que la domination chinoise dura un millier d'années (de III av. J. C. à l'an 939 de notre ère.) Elle ne s'exerça pas cependant d'une manière continue et le peuple d'Annam 安南, tout en se façonnant sux mœurs du conquérant, réussit quelquefois à secouer le joug qui pesait sur lui.

Il ne peut être question, pour tracer un tableau de cette importante période, de passer en revue les Gouverneurs, les préfets, les commissaires impériaux qui régirent le Giao-chi 交趾. Il suffira de mettre en évidence les caractères d'une administration tour à tour bienfaisante ou cruelle, oppressive ou négligente, mais toujours vraiment dominatrice, parce qu'elle était fondée sur une civilisation supérieure; c'est ainsi qu'elle a laissé une empreinte profonde sur la formation morale, intellectuelle et sociale du peuple Annamite.

Pour remplir ce programme, pour donner la signification générale d'évènements que nous ne pouvons étudier dans le

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détail, il est bon de connaître les grandes divisions de l'histoire de la Chine et de l'Annam pendant dix siècles de domination plus ou moins étroite. En effet, les révolutions, les luttes pour l'hégémonie, les longs régnes pacifiques, les intervalles dynastiques (morcellement du pays et unité retrouvée), tous ces évènements d'une histoire agitée, n'ont pas été sans retentissement sur la situation de la province soumise.

Un tableau synchronique permettra d'embrasser d'un coup d'œil cette correspondance.

EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
La domination chinoise dure sans interruption pendant 152 années (111, av. J. C.-ap. J. C.)	L'Empereur Wu 武 de la dynastie de Han 前漢 antérieurs, sous le règne de qui, Việt-Nàm 越南 est conquis, régne jusqu'en 86; six empereurs lui succèdent jusqu'en l'an 6 après J. C.
Les préfets des pays situés au Sud du Yang-Tseu, et par conséquent, du Giao-chi 交趾, administrent leurs circonscriptions sans rapport avec le pouvoir central.	Période d'anarchie (6-9), à l'issue de laquelle l'usurpateur Wang-Mang 王莽 s'empare du trône; il règne 14 ans (9-23)
	Période d'anarchie (23-25), à l'issue de laquelle un membre de la famille Lieou 劉 (des Han 漢) devient Empereur; il fonde la dynastie des Han postérieurs 後漢 (25-220): c'est l'Empereur Kouang-Wou 光武 (25-58).
En 29, les préfets des pays situés au Sud du Yang-Tseu, sur l'instigation du préfet du Giao-chi, Teng-Jang 鄧讓 (An-Đặng-Nhượng), se rallie à la nouvelle dynastie.	
En 34, Sou-Ting 蘇定 (An-Tô-Đinh) est nommé préfet du Giao-chi.	

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
(40-43) Révolte des soeurs Trưng-Trắc 徵側 et Trưng-Nhị 徵貳 (ch. Tcheng-Tch'ai et Theng-Eul). En 41, préparatifs de campagne contre le Giao-chỉ; Ma-Yuan 馬援 (An-Mã-Viện) est désigné pour commander l'expédition. En 42 Trưng-Trắc est vaincue. En 43, nouvelle défaite de Trưng-Trắc et de Trưng-Nhị; Ma-Yuan rentre en Chine.	
La domination chinoise dure 501 ans (43-544).	A l'Empereur Kouang-Wou succèdent, jusqu'en 220, onze Empereurs.
De 187 à 226, le Gouverneur Sĩ-Nhiếp 士燮 administre le pays; il a reçu le titre de roi bien qu'il n'ait pas songé à se rendre indépendant; fidèle à la dynastie Han 漢 jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit éteinte, il envoie le tribut à la dynastie Wou 吳 (An-Ngô) qui règne au Sud.	Période des "Trois Royaumes" 三國:— Royaume Han de Chou 蜀漢 où règne la famille Lieou 劉 de 221 à 263; capitale Tch'eng-Tou 城都 Royaume de Wei 魏 où règne la famille Tsao 曹 de 220 à 265; capitale Lao-Yang 洛陽. Royaume de Wou 吳 où règne la famille Souen 權 de 222 à 280; capitale Kien-Ye 建鄴 (Nan-King).
En 227, révolte de Sĩ-Vĩ 士䜣, fils de Sĩ-Nhiếp, qui veut se rendre indépendant; il est vaincu. Le siège du Gouvernement Général est transporté à Ho-P'o (An-Hiệp-Phố) 合浦,	

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
dans le Sud de la province actuelle de Kouang-Tong 廣東.	
Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et Nhật-Nam 日南 se donnent aux Tsin 晉 le département de Giao reste fidèle aux Wou 吳; un général des Tsin le conquiert. Mais en 227, T'ao-Hoang 陶璜 (An. Đào-Hoãn) le reprend pour le compte des Wou. En 280, il fait sa soumission aux Tsin et reste Gouverneur. Ses descendants administrent le pays qui est en quelque sorte indépendant jusqu'en 323.	En 265, Tseu-Ma-Yuan 司馬炎 fils de Tseu-Ma Tchao 司馬昭, Général de Wei 魏 détrône le roi de Wei dont il réunit le territoire à celui de Han 漢; il se proclame Empereur; il est le fondateur de la dynastie Tsin 晉, (265-421). Sous le nom d'Empereur Wou 武 (265-290).
	En 280, le royaume de Wou 吳 est détruit; l'Empire divisé depuis la fin des Han postérieurs 後漢 (220) est unifié.
Pendant la dernière période des Tsin, Giao-Châu 交州 est de nouveau à peu près indépendant sous Lou-Siun 劉存 (An. Lưu-Tồn), qui ne reconnaît pas l'autorité de l'Empereur.—Il est défait en 411 par Tou-Houei-Tou 杜慧度 (An. Đỗ-Huệ-Độ).	Quinze Empereurs succèdent à l'Empereur Wou 武, mais pendant les dernières années de la dynastie, les Tsin ne règnent qu'au Sud; l'Empire est divisé entre plusieurs familles: à l'Est, Yen du Sud 南燕 (Royaume tongouse); Yen du Nord 北燕 (Royaume chinois); au centre, Wei 魏 (Royaume tongouse); Tsin postérieurs 後晉 (Royaume tibétain); Tsin occidentaux 北晉 (Royaume tongouse); Hia 夏 (Royaume Hun), etc.
Des fonctionnaires nommés par les dynasties régnant au Sud, administrent le pays,	Dynastie du Nord et du Sud 南北朝. La Chine est morcelée:—

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
mais les rapports avec le pouvoir central sont très relâchés.	De 386 à 581, règnent au Nord; Wei 北魏 du Nord, de l'Ouest et de l'Est; Ts'i 北齊 du Nord; Tcheou 北周 du Nord; de 420 à 589, règnent au Sud: Song 宋, Ts'i 南齊 du Sud, Leang 梁 et Tch'en 陳.
Tou-Houei-Tou 杜慧度 (An. Đỗ-Huệ-Độ) était gouverneur à la fin des Tsin; il reste en place; en 420, il fait une expédition heureuse contre le Champa 占城; en 448, expédition de T'An-Ho-Tche 檀和之 (An. Đàn-Hoà-Chi).	
En 469, révolte de Lí-Trương-Nhơn 李長仁.	
En 479, son frère, Lí-Thúc-Hiên 李叔賢, préfet, s'oppose de vive force à l'arrivée du gouverneur nommé par l'Empereur des Song; le peuple le suit; l'Empereur des Ts'i 齊 le nomme lui-même gouverneur; il se révolte en 485.	
Lí-Khải 李凱 gouverneur désigné par les Ts'i 齊, refuse de reconnaître l'autorité des Leang 梁; il est tué par un de ses officiers qui est nommé gouverneur (505); mais ses partisans tiennent la campagne; ils ne sont réduits qu'en 516.	
En 541, révolte de Lí-Bốn 李賁 ou (Lí-Bí).—En 544, il	L'Empereur Wou 武 des Leang règne (502-549).

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
fonde la dynastie des Lí antérieurs 前李 (544-602).	En 577, la dynastie Tcheou 周, qui a détruit Ts'i, règne seule au Nord du Yang-Tseu.
Triêu-Quang-Phuc, usurpateur, (549-571), Lí-thiên-Bảo 李天保 (549-555).	
Lí-Phật-Tử 李佛子 (555-602); il fait sa soumission au général Lieou-Fang 劉方, (An. Lưu-Phương).	Tch'en 陳 règne au Sud. Yang-Kien 楊堅 détruit Tcheou 周 en 581 et Tch'en 陳 en 588; il réunit le Nord et le Sud sous son sceptre; il fonde la dynastie Souei 隋, (581-618); c'est l'Empereur Wen 文.
L'indépendance a duré 58 ans (544-602).	
La domination chinoise dure 336 ans (602-938)—Kieou-Ho 鄔和 (An. Khâu-Hoà) était préfet de Giao au moment de la fin des Souei; 隋 il reconnaît T'ang 唐 et reçoit le titre de Grand-Duc.	La famille de Li 李 fonde la dynastie T'ang 唐 (618-907). Kao-Tsou, 高祖 Empereur (618-626).
En 605—Expédition de Lieou-Fang au Champa.	
622—Création du gouvernement général de Kiao-Tche 交趾.	
679—Création du Protectorat général d'Annam.	
687—Révolte de Lí-Tư-Tiên 李思先.	Tchong-Tsong 中宗 troubles; règne en deux fois (684-710).
722—Révolte de Mai-Thúc-Loan, dit Empereur noir.	Hiuan-Tsong 元宗 (762-779).
767—Giao envahi par les Malais. Le gouverneur Tchang-Po-Yi 張伯儀. (An. Trương-Bá-Ngi), les chasse.	Tai-Tsong 伐宗 (780-805).
791—Révolte de Phùng-Hưng 馮興.	Tô-Tsong 德宗 (780-805).

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
808 — Tch'ang-Tcheou 張舟, (An. Trương-Tru) nommé gouverneur ; campagne au Champa.	Hien-Tsong 憲宗,(806-820).
819—Révolte de Dương-Thanh 楊清.	
828—Révolte de Vương-Thắng-Triều 王勝朝.	Wen-Tsong 文宗,(827-840).
846—Incursion des habitants de Nan-Tchao 南詔.	Wou-Tsong 武宗,(841-846).
857—Troubles; le gouverneur Tchou-Ye 朱涯, (An. Chu-Nhai) est obligé de se réfugier dans le département de Kouang 廣.	Siuan-Tsong 宣宗, (847-859).
858—Le Protectorat est assiégé; le gouverneur Wang-Che 王諶, (An. Vương-Thức) bat les révoltés.	
860-866—Invasion du Giao par les habitants de Nan-Tchao leur succès ; leur défaite par Kao-P'ien 高駢, (An. Cao-Biền).	Yi-Tsong 懿宗, (860-873).
880—Troubles; le gouverneur Ts'eng-Kouen (An. Tang-Cổn) les réprime.	Hi-Tsong 僖宗 (874-888); sous son règne, terrible rébellion ; un des révoltés, Tchou-Wen se rallie à l'Empereur.
	Tchao-Tsong 昭宗 (889-904); il nomme roi Tchou-Wen, qui se révolte en 896 et conquiert une partie de l'Empire ; en 901, il est appelé au secours de l'Empereur aux prises avec d'autres rebelles; il le fait assassiner en 904;
906—Khúc-Thừa-Dụ 曲承裕, choisi comme gouverneur	s'empare du pouvoir en 907.

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
par les habitants de Giao; l'Empereur approuve. Du reste, dans l'Empire même, les gouverneurs de provinces font ce qu'il leur plaît.	Mais son autorité n'est pas reconnue. La Chine reste morcelée pendant 63 ans.— C'est l'époque des cinq dynasties 伍代.
907—A sa mort, son fils Khúc-Hạo 曲顥 se déclare son successeur. Mais l'Empereur (des Leang) désigne pour administrer le Giao, le gouverneur du Kouang, Lieou-Yin 劉隱; Khuc-Hao n'en gouverne pas moins le pays et, à sa mort (917), est remplacé par son fils Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ 曲承美 qui est confirmé dans ses fonctions par l'Empereur (919).	Dynastie des Leang postérieurs 後梁, famille de Tchou-Wen (907-923). Pendant qu'elle règne à K'ai-Fong-Fou 開豐府, Licou-Yen 劉巖, frère de Lieou-Yin et son successeur, s'est proclamé, dans le Midi, Empereur des Han Méridionaux 南漢 (817-971) capitale Canton.
923—Le frère de Lieou-Yin envoie une armée dans le pays.	T'ang 後唐 postérieurs (923-936).
931—Dương-Diên-Nghệ 陽延藝 se nomme gouverneur.	
937 — Kiêu - Công - Thiện l'assassine et lui succède.	Tsin postérieurs (935-946) 後晉.
938—Il est tué par Ngô-Quyền 吳權, gendre de Dương-Diên-Nghệ, qui bat une flotte envoyée par les Han du Sud 南漢.	
La domination chinoise prend fin.	Han postérieurs 後漢 (947-950).
	Tcheou postérieurs 後周 (950-960).
	Le général Tchao-K'ouang-Yin 趙匡胤, s'empare du pouvoir et fonde la dynastie Song 宋 (960-1126).

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2.—ORGANISATION DU PAYS PENDANT LA DOMINATION CHINOISE

Les Ts'in, comme il a été dit, avaient divisé le pays en trois commanderies: Nan-Hai 南海, Kouei-Lin 桂林, et Siang 象. Après la défaite du dernier souverain de la dynastie de Tchao-T'o 趙佗 (111, av. J. C.) le pays des Việt du Sud 南越 reçut une division en neuf commanderies ou quận:* Nan-Hai subsista presque sans modifications avec sa capitale à Canton; Kouei-Lin 桂林 forma Yu-Lin 鬱林 (An. Uất-Lâm) et Ts'ang-Wou 蒼梧 (An. Thương-Ngô); une partie du Nan-Hai et du Siang 象 forma Ho-P'ou 合浦 (An. Hợp-Phố); l'île de Hai-Nan forma les commanderies de Tcheou-Ye 珠崖 (An. Châu-Nhai) et de Tan-Eul 儋耳 (An. Đạm-Nhĩ). Dans ce qui est aujourd'hui territoire indochinois, la commanderie de Siang 象 forma Giao-Chỉ (chin. Kiao-Tche) Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et Nhựt-Nam 日南 (ch. Kieou-Tchen et Je-Nan.†)

Le patrimoine de Tchao-T'o 趙佗 ainsi divisé reçut le nom général de Giao-Ch'i ou Giao-Châu 交州 (ch. Kiao-Tcheou), c'est-à-dire le Châu de Giao; car sous les Han, les commanderies (ch. Kiun-An, quân 郡), dépendaient administra-

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* cf. A ce sujet un commentaire du *Cang-Muc* (liv. I; p. 11) qui cite un ouvrage dont l'auteur, fonctionnaire de Kouei-Lin, vivait au XIIe siècle (le *Ling-Wai tai ta* de Tcheou-Kiu-Fee; v. sur cet ouvrage, *Douzième congrès international des orientalistes*, (vol. II, p. 69). Le *Cang-Muc* 綱目 donne aussi la liste des sous-préfectures comprises dans chaque commanderie: Nan-Hai en avait six, Ts'ang-Wou dix, Yu-Lin douze, Ho-P'ou cinq, Giao-Chỉ dix, Cửu-Chơn sept, Nhựt-Nam cinq; il n'en est pas donné pour Tchou-Ye et Tan-Eul; cf. Des Michels, p. 14. Sous l'Empereur Wou des Han (140-86) l'empire comprenait 108 commanderies et royaumes; en voir la liste dans Chavannes; Se-ma Ts'ein 司馬遷, II, p. 564.

† Voici la situation approximative de ces neuf commanderies par comparaison avec les divisions modernes: 1—Nan-Hai (Province de Kouang-Toung), 2—Yu-Lin (Nord de la province de Kouang-Si, sous-préfecture de Kouei-P'ing, préfecture de Siun-Tcheou), 3—Tsang-Wou, préfecture de Wou-Tcheou), 4—Ho-P'ou (Sud de la province de Tong, sous-préfecture de Hai-Kang, préfecture de Lei-Tcheou), 5—Tchou-Ye (au Nord de l'ile de Hai-Nan), 6—Tan-Eul (centre et Sud de l'île), 7—Giao-Chỉ Delta Tonkinois), 8—Cửu-Chơn (Province de Thanh-Hoá), 9— Nhựt-Nam (Province de Quang-Nam).

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tivement des départements (ch. Tcheou), (An. Châu 州). Les commanderies étaient administrées par des préfets (ch. T'ai-Cheou, an. Thái-Thú 太守) et les départements par des gouverneurs (ch. Tseu-Che, an. Thứ-Sử 刺史).

Dans son cour d'histoire, Trương-Vĩnh-Ký place par erreur les deux commanderies de l'île de Hai-Nan dans le Tonkin.

Quelques modifications de peu d'importance furent apportées à cette organisation sous les Han 漢 eux-mêmes, et pendant la période de trois royaumes. Au cours du IIIe siècle, sous les Wou 吳 (229-280), le pays fut divisé en deux départements, celui de Giao 交 (Giao-Châu), capital Long-Biên* 龍 編 et celui de Kouang 廣 (Kouang-Tcheou) capitale Fan-Yu 番 禺, Canton; du VIe siècle, le département de Giao proprement dit fut lui-même subdivisé en départements: Giao-Châu (Delta Tonkinois) et Ái-Châu 愛 州 (ancienne commanderie de Cửu-Chơn 九 眞.

Mais c'est au VIIe siècle que l'organisation du pays conquis subit les changements les plus importants. Dès le début de dynastie de T'ang 唐, une réorganisation complète de l'Empire fut entreprise et il fut créé au pays d'Annam un gouvernement général de Giao (622); it fut transformé plus tard en un protectorat général d'Annam (679 ou 681). Des gouverneurs furent nommés dans les départements et un protecteur général fut désigné pour administrer en chef le pays tout entier.*

Certaines préfectures, celles qui étaient localisées dans la province actuelle du Kouang-Toung 廣 東 et dans l'ile de

* Long-Biên (Chef-lieu de la commanderie de Giao-Chỉ, sous les Han; elle s'appelait alors Long-Uyên 龍 淵, se vantait d'être la plus ancienne ville fortifiée du Tonkin, ayant recu son mur d'enceinte en 144, quand Tcheou-Tch'ang, préfect de Giao-Chi, y avait transporté sa capitale. A la fin du IIIe siècle, T'ao-Houang l'avait reconstruite à 14 *li* 里 a l'Ouest de son ancien emplacement. Les Souei (589-618) en, firent une sous-préfecture et transportèrent la capitale du Giao-Chỉ à Tong-Binh. En 621, elle devint le chef-lieu du département de Long (Long-Chau) qui dépendait du protectorat général de Giao; en 627, elle fut réduite au rang de simple arrondissement; il n'en est plus question dans l'histoire du Tonkin, après le VIIe siècle. D'ap. H. Maspéro; *Le Protectorat Général de l'Annam sous les T'ang*, p. 562.

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Hai-Nan 海南, avaient été rattachées au Protectorat Général au moment de sa formation, mais en furent séparées plus tard, à la fin du VIII[e] siècle. A cette époque et jusqu'à la fin des T'ang, le territoire du pays fut divisé en huit départements: 1°—dans la plaine du Tonkin: les départements de Kiao 交 (an. Giao) partie orientale du delta; de Fong 峯 (an. Phong) province de Sơn-Tây 山西, Vĩnh-Yên 永安, Việt-Trì 越池 et les districts occupés par des populations primitives vers le Yun-Nan; de Tch'ang 湯 (an. Trương), probablement l'ancien Cửu-Chơn, donc approximativement province de Thanh-Hoá 清化; 2°—dans la partie septentrionale de l'Annam moderne jusqu'au Mont transverse, les départements de Ngai 愛 (an. Ái) de Houan, 驩 (an. Hoan) de Yen 演 (an. Dien) et de Fou-Lou 福祿 (an. Phúc-Lộc).

Ces sept départements qui se trouvaient dans les plaines, étaient administrés suivant les mêmes règles que les provinces du reste de l'Empire. Quant aux circonscriptions des régions montagneuses, il importe de distinguer:—la partie qui formait le huitième département, celui de Lou 陸 (an. Luc) côte et îles de la baie de Ha-Long, fut administrée directement par des fonctionnaires désignés par la Chine†; les autres, comme T'ang 湯 (an. Thang) Tche 芝 (an. Chi), Wou-Yi 武峨 (an. Vũ-Nga), Wou-Ngan 武安 (an. Vũ-An), représentant à peu prés les provinces actuelles de Hưng-Hoá 興化, Tuyên-Quang 宣光, Thái-Nguyên 太原, Quảng-Yên 廣安, furent

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* Sur le siège du Protectorat et ses emplacements successifs, voir l'étude déjà citée de M. Maspéro, p. 552 et suiv.

L'ancien Kiao-Tche serait identique à Song-P'ing (Tong-Binh) ou comme on l'appelait à la fin de la dynastie, à Ta-Lo-Tch'eng (Đại-La-Thành. Or l'emplacement de Đại-La-Thành est bien connu: c'était à peu près la ville actuelle de Hanoi et les énormes levées de terre qui l'entourent en ont gardé le nom et sont appelées aujourd'hui encore La-Thành. Mais si l'on veut localiser l'ancienne ville des T'ang sur le terrain, on se heurte à de graves difficultés—p. 555). "Après la reprise du Tonking sur le Nan-Tchao (806) Kao-P'ien 高駢 rebâtit la capitale, peut-être encore sur un nouvel emplacement" (p. 557).

† Les sous-préfectures de ces divers départements sont énumérées dans le *Cang-Muc* d'après l'histoire des T'ang; Giao en comprenait huit, Fong Cinq, Trương quatre, A'i six, Hoan quatre, Diễn sept, Phúc-Lộc trois et Luc trois.

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tantôt laissées au gouvernement de leurs chefs héréditaires*, tantôt soumises à l'administration chinoise.

[*To be continued*]

* Leur nombre, leur nom, leurs limites varièrent souvent; les territoires laissés au gouvernement des chefs indigènes s'appelaient Ki-Mi-Tcheou, Ki-Mi-Hien. Ki signifie "brider un cheval," et Mi "Tenir un boeuf par le licou."

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WORKING THE ORACLE

BY

LIONEL C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

[*Concluded from p. 119*].

IN the notes to the extracts that follow, I shall have occasion to refer to various papers of mine contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (J. R. A. S.), and to quote textually the passages in point, because, as the original articles are unlikely to have been seen by the majority of readers of this Review, or to be accessible to them, a reference alone would be useless.

The letters Y. H. S. K. stand for Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i—Records of the Tumulus of Yin*, in which the original texts will be found photo-lithographed.

(1)* Various sacrificial services now known collectively as *tsi* 祭.

(*a*) 壬戌卜貞王賓示壬翌日亡丈 *jên hsü pu chêng wang p'in shih jên i jih wu* [?].—Y. H. S. K. 1. 1.

"On the day *jên-hsü*, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell of the Royal Guest Shih-Jên [*alias* Chu Jên 主壬, according to the *Shih Chi* 史記] whether the next day would be without [? objection] for sacrificing."

Notes.—On p. 77 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, Lo observes, on the evidence of the Bone inscriptions, that

* For the original form of each inquiry, etc., see Plate at the end of the article.

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the word 祭 *tsi* or *chi* denoted only one of the total number of sacrificial ceremonies 祭亦羣祀之一, and not, as it became later, the general term for all such forms of worship.

Wang-p'in 王賓 was, as Lo Chên-yü has shown, the customary term for a deceased Royal Ancestor. The point is fully explained in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty* in the J. R. A. S., January 1917, p. 85.

示壬 Shih Jên is Lo's reading of the *Shih Chi's* Chu Jên, 主壬, the grandfather of T'ang, the Founder of the Shang Dynasty.

The modern form for the last character in this inscription is not yet known. On the face of it, it scarcely differs from the modern 丈 *chang*, fathom, which however it can hardly be. Whatever its sound, the word must have denoted some such sense as ill-consequence, objection. Note that no word for sacrifice is expressed.

Lo points out that the rule was when inquiring through the Tortoise if a certain day for the sacrifice would be agreeable to the deceased ancestor addressed, to put the inquiry on a day having as its first cycle character the same character as marked the day of the ancestor's birth. Thus, in this sentence, we see the question put on a day 壬戌 *jên hsü*, because *jên* was the first character of Shih (or Chu) Jên's birthday.

(*b*) 丁未卜貞王賓大丁祭亡丈 *ting wei pu chêng wang p'in ta ting chi wu* [?].—Y. H. S. K. 1. 4.

"On the day ***ting-wei***, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell, of the Royal Guest Ta Ting whether a sacrificial service to him would be free from [? objection]."

Notes. –Here the exact day for the sacrifice is not specified, but custom required that it should be on an early day, commonly on the next or next but one.

Ta Ting, or T'ai Ting 太丁, as, (following the form employed in the *Shih Chi*), the name is always written since Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's time, is reputed to have reigned from B.C. 1194 to 1191. But it is probable that the ancestor here intended is a much earlier one. "The Historical Memoirs state that Ch'êng T'ang's heir T'ai Ting 太丁 died before accession to the throne. The Bamboo Books do not mention

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him. But I agree with Lo's view that the 大丁 of the Bones refers to this prince and not to the last sovereign but two of the dynasty." *

Remark that here, in contrast with the previous extract, the word *chi* to sacrifice, is expressed.

(*c*). 丁卯卜貞王賓𣪊丁彤日亡𡆥 *ting mao pu chêng wang p'in pao ting yung jih wu* [?].—Y.H.S.K. 1.53.

"On the day *ting mao*, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell, of the Royal Guest Pao Ting whether the day of the supplementary sacrifice would be free from [? objection]."

Notes.—The two characters transcribed here as 𣪊丁 *pao ting*, are left by Lo Chên-yü'in his transcription, in the original form shown on the bone fragment, which he has not identified. On the grounds stated in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, J.R.A.S. Jan. 1917, pp. 83-4, I read this apparently single form as two characters 勹, and 厶, which, as in very numerous instances on the Honan relics are combined in a single complex. This is done when the liaison between the two words concerned is habitual, as in certain names and dates. It is Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien in his *Shih Chi* who is responsible for the names Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping, having perhaps received this lection from his predecessors. For the sake of clearness I add an extract from the above-mentioned Paper.

"Now there are in the Bone inscriptions three singular combinations, each consisting of a symbol closely resembling the half of a square bracket 匚, enveloping, respectively, the characters Ting, I, and Ping, and no other characters. Thus we have 冏 and 冏 and 冏, in which the partly bracketed characters are in modern form 丁 *ting*, 丙 *ping* and 乙 *i*. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that these combinations are really the Pao Ting, Pao Ping and Pao I of the Historical Memoirs. What is harder to understand is why the transcribers, if we assume that they had similar forms before them, should have seen in these half-bracket shapes an early phase of the character 𣪊 *pao*. Certainly there is no record of any such simple outline for that character. Had they transcribed these three names as 勹丁, 勹乙, and 勹丙, Pao

* *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*. J. R. A. S., Jan., 1917, p. 73

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Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping, more plausibility would have been secured. But they did not. We do not know what this half-bracket character really represents, nor what is the sound of the word it stands for, nor can we judge what justification the transcribers had for writing 報. For the present then, we must leave this name suspect but unchallenged."

彤 *yung*. Lo's photographic plate does not reproduce clearly the original character here. But numerous other passages in his and my own collection, show the symbols which he identifies as 彤 *yung*, in the expression 彤 日 *yung jih*, day of supplementary sacrifice, as well as in the less commonly occurring and hitherto unknown couplet 彤 月 *yung yüeh*, the exact meaning of which is not clear. I subjoin here a translation of Lo's interesting note to his variant forms, from p. 26 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih:* "The character 彤 *yung* occurring in the phrase 彤 日 *yung jih*, the day of the supplementary sacrifice, in the *Book of History*, is not to be found in the *Shuo Wên*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes it is the same as 彰 *ch'ên*. The notes on Kung Yang's Commentary [to the *Ch'un Ch'iu*], on Duke Hsüan's 8th year, assert that 彤 yung is equivalent to the expression 彤 彤 不 絕 *yung yung pu chüeh*, on and on without ceasing. In the oracular sentences we have 彡 日, and sometimes 彡 or 彡, all of which forms precisely symbolize endless succession (正 象 相 續 不 絕), and are probably the original shape of the character 彤 in the phrase 彤 日 *yung jih*. The character 彭 *p'êng* is composed with this symbol which gives it its phonetic *, a plain proof of which is furnished by the occasional scription of *pêng* with 彡 in the oracular sentences.

* A pregnant dictum. For not only does the attribution of the sound *yung* to the character 彡 controvert the accepted sounds *shan* and *hsien* as given by Kanghsi, but what is much more important and far-reaching, it postulates as sound doctrine the acceptance of the phonetic element in a character, where it exists at all, not as of necessity a full homophone, but merely as a syllable having *the same rhyme*, as for instance, in this case, where *yung* is said to be the phonetic of *p'êng* earlier *p'ung*. Repugnant as this view is, I confess, to me, there seems no other reconcileable with the *Shuo Wên's* treatment of the phonetics, which appears to be tacitly accepted by modern Chinese critics.

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In these, too, we have the expression 肜月 *yung yüeh*, the meaning of which we now no longer understand. The 鼎尊 *yü tsun* bronze also contains the characters 彡日, while the *Pê Ku T'u* illustrates a sacrificial bronze, the 父丁彝 *fu ting i*, on which occurs the sentence 彡日佳王六祀 *yung jih wei wang liu ssŭ*, 'the day of the renewed sacrifice was in the King's 6th year'."

(2) A sacrificial service known as 告 *kao* or announcement.

(*a*) 貞于唐告 *chêng yü t'ang kao*.—Y. H. S. K. 1.47.
"Inquired whether a service of announcement should be held in T'ang."

(*b*) 貞勿告于唐 *chêng wu kao yü t'ang*.—*Ibid*.
"Inquired whether a service of announcement should not be held in T'ang."

Notes.—The two sentences (*a*) and (*b*), though found on the same page of Lo's work, are not on the same fragment of bone. But similar alternative inquiries so often occur in his and my own collections, in close juxtaposition, that these two may be taken as typical of the class. The rather cumbrous idiom "Will it be so-and-so? Will it not be so-and-so?," and similar bifurcated inquiries, are extremely common. What is curious is that the two branches are often separated by two horizontal lines inclosing some sentence on a separate matter; why, I do not know.

T'ang 唐 is perhaps the region of the feudal State of that name comprising parts of Chihli and Honan; see Playfair's *Cities and Towns of China*, Vol. II, p. 329.

The character transcribed 勿 *wu* by me is left undetermined by Lo, and though very common on the Bones, is not found elsewhere. I have tested it extensively and believe my equation stands good.

(3) A sacrificial service known as 𦎫 *shun*, now written 𦎫. The nature and peculiarities of this ceremony do not appear, but from the presence of the character for sheep in the compound, it would seem to have included the slaughter of a victim of that kind.

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(*a*) 甲辰卜王貞于戊申𠂤 *chia ch'ên pu wang chêng yii wu shên shun*.—Y. H. S. K. 3.24.
"On the day *chia ch'ên* divined concerning the King's inquiry, whether he should offer sacrifice on the day *wu-shên*."

Notes.—The character *shun* is worth attention. It consists in its archaic phase of two parts, an upper and a lower. The upper half is a character variously read *hêng*, *hsiang* and *p'êng*, which is another and less perspicuous way of expressing that probably three, and certainly two, distinct spoken words have been made to share a single character. We are concerned however here with only one of them, the word *hsiang*—to sacrifice.

The lower half of *shun* is the well-known character for sheep, *yang* 羊. As neither *hsiang* (nor, for that matter, *hêng* or *p'êng*), nor *yang* can possibly be phonetics for a character pronounced *shun*, it is clear that we have to do with a member of the Suggestive Compound class or 會意 *hui i*. The designer of this character *shun* presents us with an architectural elevation of a building having the well-known curving roofs, surmounting a tower standing (so I interpret the oblong lower part) on a raised terrace. This building is no doubt an ancestral temple, and the sheep beneath it is of course the particular victim appropriate to this class of sacrificial service.

(*b*) 癸亥卜王方其𠂤大邑 *kuei hai pu wang fang ch'i shun ta i*.—Y. H. S. K. 8.12.
(Provisional rendering). "On the day *kuei hai*, divined as to the Royal Officer designated as *fang*, offering sacrifice at the Capital city."

I have marked the above as a provisional rendering in view of the doubt attending the sense of the word *fang*. But in his *Yin Hsii Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 107, Lo Chên-yü calls attention to the occurrence of the expressions 命方 *ming-fang* and 歸方 *kuei-fang*, in the oracular sentences. They must, he says, be the designations of officials, and cites from the *Chou Li* the analogous titles 職方 *chih fang*, 土方 *t'u fang*, 合方 *ho fang*, 訓方 *hsiin fang*, and 形方 *hsing fang*, all having also the final word 氏 *shih*, showing the hereditary nature of their office, as the last part of the title. These

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functions Lo thinks were imitated from those current in the previous dynasty of Shang. I may add that the phrase 土方 *t'u fang*, seems to appear on the Honan bones in the guise of Ω方.

Ta i 大邑, lit. "the great city." I have discussed the character 邑 *i*, in its old form, quite recently, in *Pictographic Reconnaissances*, Part 2, in J.R.A.S., July-October, 1918 p. 417, from which I may perhaps quote the following sentence in explanation of the form :-

"A compound consisting of an upper part sometimes round, sometimes rectangular, square or oblong, representing an inclosed place, surmounting the figure of a kneeling or seated man. But it may be that this kneeling posture is not here intended to be significant, but is merely due to a desire for vertical compression in writing. In any case the conceptional design seems to suggest a place where men dwell."

(4) Expeditions or journeys, apparently on civil business, but the exact objects of which are not so far discoverable. They are termed *ch'u* 出, issuing, and *ju* 入, reëntering, terms which we may recall are used in the *Chou Li* or Rites of Chou, for the issue and return of Government stores. But this does not appear to be the sense of the words in these passages.

(*a*). 丙子卜賓貞方其大出七月 *ping tzŭ pu chêng fang ch'i ta ch'u ch'i yüeh*.—Y.H.S.K. 5.28.

"On the day *ping-tzū*, inquired of the [Royal] guest through the tortoise-shell whether the *fang* officer should go out in force in the 7th moon."

(*b*). 貞方不大出 *chêng fang pu ta ch'u*.—*Ibid.* 5.28.

"Inquired whether the *fang* officer should not go out in force."

Notes.—The translation of both these sentences is somewhat tentative, and must be so until the exact connotations of *fang* and *ch'u* are better known. I have rendered 大 *ta* by "in force," but if the sense of 出 *ch'u* is that used in the *Chou Li*, the rendering would have to be altered.

In (*a*) I have restored the character 賓 *p'in*, which Lo has inadvertently omitted in his transcription.

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Both (*a*) and (*b*) occur on the same fragment, and as very often happens on the Bones, the negative and rather shorter branch of the inquiry is the upper one, and is succeeded, immediately in this case, by the positive. Did the authors of those entries begin at the foot of the fragments and work upwards?

Notice the use of 其 *ch'i* in the positive branch, contrasted here and constantly with 不 *pu*, not.

Note on the Plate the form of 七 *ch'i*, seven, *not* ten.

The word *p'in*, guest, is here short for *wang p'in*, Royal Guest, the term by which, as Lo Chên-yü has brilliantly shown, an apotheosized ancestor of the Royal Line was described in the time of the Shang Dynasty. The point is discussed in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, J. R. A. S., January 1917, p. 85.

(*c*). 貞今七月王入于商 *chêng chin ch'i yüeh wang ju yü shang*.—Y. H. S. K. 2.2.

"Inquired whether this seventh month the King should re-enter Shang."

Note.—This Shang is presumably the fief in Shensi, or its capital city, from which the dynasty had taken its original style.

The reader should remark the manner in which the two characters 七 *ch'i*, seventh, and 月 *yeüh*, month, instead of being, like the rest, written in vertical sequence, are juxtaposed laterally. The group presents one of the numerous instances of the marked agglutinative tendency on the Honan relics, in the case of characters frequently occurring in couplets, such as Royal names, certain official titles, the month and its number, certain numerical combinations, certain numeratives and their substantives. This tendency, however, ultimately disappeared, though one example still remains to illustrate it in the modern character 百 *pê*, hundred, which was originally the two characters —*i*, one, and 白 *pê*, hundred (now only used for *pê*, white), agglutinated. Sometimes 百, in its old form, must have been pronounced as two words, *i pê*, but at others, in such cases, for instance, as 百姓, though still including the sign for —*i*, one, the sound of this latter must have been dropped, for the spoken language said, as now, merely *pê hsing*.

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(5) Hunting expeditions, which were known by several different names, 狩 *shou*, 逐 *chu*, and 田 *t'ien*.

(*a*) 貞王狩于乂 *chêng wang shou yü ai*.—Y.H.S.K. 1.44.

(*b*) 貞王勿狩于乂 *chêng wang wu shou yü ai*.—*Ibid.*

(*a*) "Inquired whether the King should hunt in Ai."

(*b*) "Inquired whether the King should not hunt in Ai."

Notes.—I have followed Lo in transcribing the original character (shown in the Plate) by 狩 *shou*, because the latter is that now used for the sense of hunting. But strictly, the form is better preserved in 獸 *shou*, now usually reserved for the meaning of beasts. This composite character is both interesting and difficult of analysis. It would take too long to explain fully what can be discovered about it. Lo Chên-yü and others have shown that in the older writings 獸 and 狩 were used indifferently to write the word *shou* to hunt. I will only add that the form used on the Bones consists of two elements neither of which probably is phonetic, and that the local relation of the dog sign to the other one is non-significant, but imposed by the desire for compact grouping. In other words, the dog is not climbing up a pole, as it appears to be. The real difficulty lies in interpreting this bifurcated pole.

(*c*) 戊寅卜在高貞王田衣逐亡巛 *wu yin pu tsai kao chêng wang t'ien i chu chu wu tsai*.—Y. H. S. K. 2.12.

"On the day *wu yin*, divined in Kao and inquired if the King hunted in I the chase would be without mishap."

Note.—Both Kao and I must be the names of regions or places, but nothing is now known about them.

The character 逐 *chu*, to chase, appears to be a Suggestive Compound (會意), in which neither of the two constituents serves a phonetic purpose. The archaic form has the sign for *foot* below, to symbolize movement, and an animal form, sometimes that for swine, but sometimes for hare, and according to Lo, though I am not satisfied on the point, sometimes also for *dog*. The boar and the hare of course represent the animals hunted. Possibly one or two other sorts could be found. Lo remarks, Y. H. S. K. K. S., p. 62, that the character depicts beasts running in the wilderness and men pursuing them, so that there is no

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restriction as to what kind of beast is drawn. This is not the only character where a certain depictive latitude is allowed in the archaic writing.

Wu tsai, which would now be written 無災, is a common formula on these bones, with several others of the same general sense.

(*d*) 癸未卜丁貞漁 *kuei wei pu ting hai yü.*—Y. H. S. K. 4.56

"On the day *kuei wei*, divined as to fishing on the *ting hai*."

Note.—In this particular example *yü*, to fish, is written as 魚 *yü*, the substantive. But usually on the Bones, when the word *yü* is used verbally, the combining-form of water is added. Sometimes also a more interesting augment appears, in the shape of a hand holding a fishing-line, thus, , a variant on which was imperfectly based the modern 漁 *yü*, where however the line has vanished. It it possible that the curious form *yü*, found only in the *Chou Li*, in the term *yü jên*, the Court Fishermen, preserves in the element 虎 *hu*, tiger's head, at the top, a misunderstood and misrepresented corruption of an original line and hook? Certainly tiger's head, whether as phonetic or ideogram, is irrelevant and incomprehensible in such a character.

(6) Military expeditions, 征伐 *chêng fa.*

庚申卜㱿貞王勿征[?]方下上弗若不我其受又 *kêng shên pu ? ku* or ? *ch'io chêng wang wu* [?] *fang hsiū shang fu jo pu wo ch'i shou yu.*—Y. H. S. K. 5.22.

"On the day *kêng shên*, divined as to [?], and inquired whether the King should not attack the country of the [?]. The upper and the lower not agreeing, will not grant aid to me."

Note.—I have chosen the above sentence despite the fact that two of the characters cannot yet be equated with modern forms, while the applicational meaning of the phrase 下上弗若 *hsia shang fu jo*, is uncertain. But like so many other recalcitrant passages on the Honan relics, it permits us glimpses, if no more, of knowledge that may be ours some day, though now we cannot attain to it.

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The 4th character is left untranscribed by Lo, but it appears to me strictly to be the modern character represented in Kanghsi as shown above. It is quite common in these inscriptions, and occurs constantly after ᚦ *pu*, to divine. It must therefore represent a word for some matter as to which the Shang Sovereigns often desired information. And from its common occurrence in inquiries relating to military activities, it would seem to indicate some bellicose action. Beyond that I cannot go.

Here, as before noted, the character I transcribe as 勿 *wu*, not, is left by Lo without a modern equation.

The archaic characters 下 *hsia* and 上 *shang* should be noticed. They sometimes occur so closely juxtaposed that I used to believe them to be a single form. They furnish, then, another example of what I have described above as "the marked agglutinative tendency . . . in the case of characters frequently occurring in couplets." In this particular instance, the tendency scarcely prevails.

What were these phenomena or powers which "below and above were not concordant"? Is this some technical diviners' jargon, or had it some wider connotation? We cannot tell.

Another point of interest is presented by the unknown but very frequent character 㠯, which is usually followed by 方 *fang*, region, and is therefore I suppose some ethnic name. But what name? And what is the pictural design of the form? This again we cannot determine, though the figure itself suggests one obvious explanation.

(7) Crop prospects.

庚申卜貞我受黍年三月 *keng shên pu chêng wo shou shu nien san yüeh.*—Y. H. S. K. 3.30

"On the day *kêng shên*, divined, inquiring as to our millet harvest. Third moon."

Note.—In the original text the characters for "third moon" are slightly removed from the rest of the sentence, and must, I think, be taken separately, if for no other reason than that the millet harvest could surely never have fallen in the *third* moon under any calendar.

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(8) The weather.

(*a*) 壬寅卜貞今日王其田[?]不遘大風 *jên yin pu chêng chin jih wang ch'i ti'en* [?] *pu kou ta fêng.* Y. H. S. K. 2.30.

"On the day *jen yin*, divined inquiring if the King hunted to-day in [?], whether he would not encounter high wind."

(*b*) 其遘大風 *ch'i kou ta fêng.—Ibid.*

"Or would encounter high wind."

Note.—Again the negative branch of the question coming before, at any rate above, the positive.

In the original bone a fracture leaves only the extreme right hand corner of *kou* visible.

The very remarkable form of the character now written 風 *fêng*, wind, should be noticed. I have discussed it in a short Paper in the J. R. A. S., April 1917, pp. 377-383, on "The Wind, the Phoenix and a String of Shells," from which I may quote, as for the moment sufficient, one sentence, "This [example] is, *in form*, the archaic character for 風 *fêng*, the mythical bird, but is here borrowed to write *fêng*, wind, as the context shows." But it is well to add that the Lesser Seal and modern characters for *fêng*, phoenix, are not very strictly derived from this archaic pictogram, for the elaborately drawn phoenix has been reduced by simplifications to the ordinary bird outline of 鳥 *niao*.

(*c*) 貞今丙午延雨 *chêng chin ping wu yen yü.*—

今丙午不其延雨 *chin ping wu pu ch'i yen yü.*—

Y. H. S. K. 3.20.

"Inquired whether to-day, being *ping-wu*, there would be prolonged rain"; or, "whether . . . no prolonged rain."

Note.—The character 延 deserves attention. The modern form thus written is, according to Kanghsi and other dictionaries, including the received phonetic system of *Sun Shu-yen* 孫叔言, usually adopted by editors of the *Shuo Wên*, pronounced *ch'an*, and is said to mean to walk quietly. On the other hand, the character 延, prolonged, is said to be pronounced *yen*. But the evidence of the Honan relics shows without doubt that the character composed of 廴 and 止,

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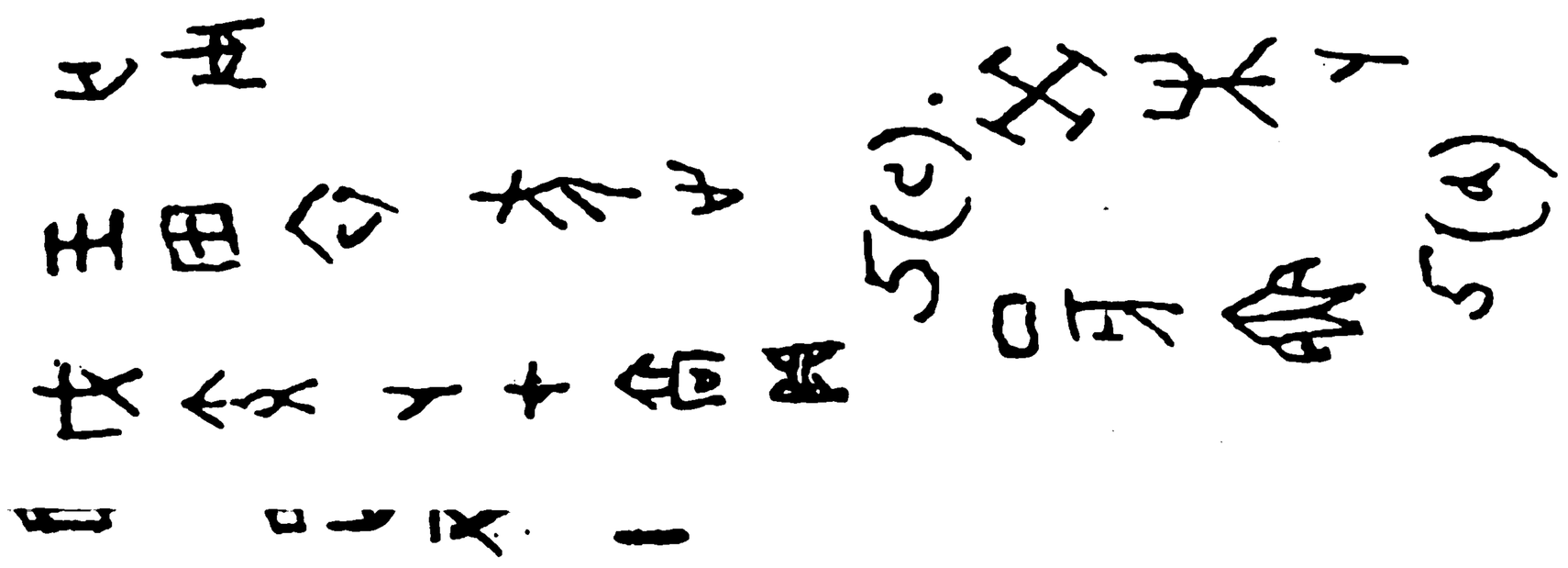

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which is common on the Bones and there means prolonged, is, contrary to these modern authorities, the true representative of the word *yen*. I have therefore been constrained so to transliterate it here.

And now having completed the circuit of these prognostications, from the august solemnities of ancestral worship to the fretting incertitudes of meteorology, we may bid adieu to the Working of the Oracle.

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

SECTION II. ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

Nature worship, largely for the state, was the public religion; ancestral worship, wholly for the family, was the private religion. The two were based upon one idea, that life pervades all things and is indestructible but, as we say of energy, passes into other forms.

The funeral and mourning customs undoubtedly more nearly touched the lives of the people, yet because of their greater privacy we read less of them. What we are told about them in the earliest times is by the late compiler and two of the less authenticated documents.* The people mourned three years for the emperor Yao and all music was hushed.† On the death of his father, Kao-tsung of the Shang dynasty is said to have lived in a mourning shed for three years without speaking.‡ Confucius affirmed that silence was the regular practice of the ancient kings and that the government was carried on solely by ministers: § the

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* H—II, i. 4, 8, 14, 23; IV, ix. 1.
† H—II, i. 13.
‡ H—IV, viii. (i.), 1, 2.
§ A—XIV, xliii.

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Shu-ching as we now have it, speaks only of verbal silence and says that the king continued it even after mourning, when he communicated with his ministers by writing. The compiler of the classic does not tell us that Shun, when mourning for Yao, abstained from government, but goes on immediately to say that he deliberated with the ministers. In a somewhat ambiguous passage the *T'ai-chia* has it that when he came to the throne the young king behaved lightly and the minister, I-Yin 伊尹, finding that remonstrances were of no avail, compelled him at last to dwell by his father's grave throughout the rest of mourning and himself administered the government. The king's youth and character may have been sufficient reason for not allowing him any control in affairs. Confucius' dictum, then, may find some support in the cases of T'ai-chia and Kao-tsung but it is not proved by the records.

The narratives in the *Tso-chuan* make frequent allusions to other funeral and mourning customs but do not describe them in detail. Burial, the use of a double coffin and vaulted grave lined with lime * were probably connected with the idea that the animal soul remains with the body, and were designed to prolong its existence. So cremation was looked upon with horror; and once when military necessity required the burning of a city where the corpses of those slain in a previous battle still lay unburied, the act was only justified by the plea that their sacrifices could not be maintained without the defeat of the enemy. † The piece of jade inserted between the teeth to keep the mouth open ‡ was probably in order to give passage to the vital air and prolong the existence of the soul. Ice was used in the washing of the corpse § and friends attended the ceremony of the lesser dressing or shrouding; ‖ the greater dressing for actual burial was in full state robes. ¶

° T—347a; cf. 423b; M.

† T—760b.

‡ T—482b; cf. 598a.

§ T—596a.

‖ T—7b.

¶ T—548a; cf. 773b.

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The mourning clothes were carefully graded: an ordinary scholar in mourning for his father wore unhemmed coarse sackcloth, his head-band and girdle being of still coarser material, and his shoes were of grass; he walked with a bamboo staff, lived on congee and slept on rushes in a mourning shed with a pillow of grass.* Friends also wailed for friends and wore a lesser mourning; the wailing was concluded by three leaps with arm and chest bared;† that for one of the same surname was performed in the Ancestral temple and for others outside ‡ women appear to have wailed at home, within or outside the house according to the nearness of the relationship.§ Tumuli were raised over graves and planted with trees:‖ an underground passage to the grave, probably through an artificial mound, was a royal prerogative.¶

The *Ch'un-ch'iu* records the death and burial of most of the kings and feudal lords, and the interval between the two proves that burial was delayed for several months, varying from seven months in the case of a king to one month for an ordinary officer,** but the records show how irregularly the rule was kept. The coffin was presented in the Ancestral temple before burial†† but the tablet, as we shall see, was not erected until after mourning.

De Groot thinks that some of the customs described in the *Li-chi*, such as the removal of the tablets and of all furniture from the hall in which the coffin stood, and uncovering the upper part of one's person when wailing, were relics of prehistoric times when the Chinese lived in caves and abandoned the abode and all its contents to the dead. We do not know how old the former of these customs was; it does not seem to have been observed by king K'ang early in

* T—475b.
† T—335b; A.
‡ T—455, 821b.
§ T—270a, 347a.
‖ T—221b.
¶ T—196a.
** T—7a. The day of burial was chosen by divination at least ten days beforehand (T—303b).
†† T—423b.

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the Chou dynasty. Fear of the dead and of all that they had used during life is found among many backward tribes, but it is probably an error to regard it as universal and quite primitive to mankind.* Though some Chinese customs may have had their origin in these fears, they had already put on a different meaning; many of them in the Chou dynasty, such as the soothing touch on the cheek,† closing the eyelids,‡ pillowing the head of the slain upon the knee and weeping over it§ and the observance of the anniversary of death even when travelling, show how the dead were regarded with lingering tenderness. Chinese writers explain the funeral customs, whatever their genesis, as expressions of love and regret. The *Shu-ching* describes the inauguration of king K'ang two days after his father's death. The great hall was decked with coloured mats and screens, the bench adorned with gems, the heirlooms of the family set forth and armed guards in fur caps posted at various points. The young king, who had been inhabiting a wing of the building and had not yet slept, if he ever did, in a mourning shed, ascended to the hall by the guests' steps, not venturing to consider himself master whilst his father's coffin was still there; he and the ministers wore hempen caps and coloured sacrificial robes. The Grand Recorder read the last testament of the late king; the young heir poured out three libations upon the ground before the coffin and the Grand Protector poured the responsive libation.|| The ceremony was special only as far as the death of a king was special: it doubtless followed the custom of the funeral rites of the Chou kings, and something of the same nature would be observed on the death of a feudal prince or the head of a great clan.

We have no description of such an actual burial except that of a duke of Sung in B.C. 589, which was noted for its

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* Palæolithic man, as far back as the glacial period, buried his dead with care in the floor of his cave and continued to inhabit it.

† T—482b.

‡ Ibid.

§ T—211b, 514b, 535a, 557b.

|| H—V, xxii.

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extravagance. Tso-shih says that the number of articles buried with the corpse was augmented;* they were therefore usually fixed by rule, like the victims in nature worship, and excess brought only reprobation. One new custom, the burial of men in the grave, was introduced for the first time. The word is technical, *hsün* 殉, and means the burial—not necessarily alive—of human beings with the dead; in this case they are not said to have been males. It will assist clearness in discussing this custom if for the present we distinguish between suttee proper and the use of male victims. Wherever the sex is not specified it will be only fair to take the word in (from a Chinese point of view), its milder sense, that is, the burial of female members of the harem.

De Groot's deeply interesting account of suttee in later times shows how it increased, then waned only to be revived, like a fashion of the court, until it was finally abolished by the emperor Ying-tsung.† Whilst admitting that the recorded cases in the times with which this history deals are few and that the earliest is still of comparatively late date, De Groot thinks that the custom prevailed generally from ancient times and that being common it was not thought necessary to mention it in the histories. It possibly was ancient custom, but the grounds are insufficient for thinking that it prevailed generally in the central states of *Ch'un-ch'iu* times. The allusions to it in our present authorities are only three; 1st, B. C. 594 where Wei Wu-tzŭ 魏武子 of Chin wanted a favourite concubine who had borne no son, to be buried with him; his heir refused to carry out the charge under the plea that his father was ill and not master of himself when he gave it;‡ 2nd, at the funeral of the above-mentioned duke of Sung;

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* T—347a. Though there may have been a rule for the articles to be buried, there was some latitude as the finding of the Bamboo Books testifies, but palpable excess was condemned. The great rule is always propriety. An emperor of Shang was warned to regulate his sacrifices and not be excessive in those to his father (H—IV, ix. 5). Mencius had to answer criticisms by his own disciples and others on account of his mother's funeral (M—I b, xvi; IIb, vii).

† De Groot, *The Religious System of the Chinese*, Bk. III.

‡ T—328b.

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3rd, in B. C. 529, where a man of Ch'u who had received benefits from king Ling took him as a fugitive into his house and when the king strangled himself made his own two daughters follow him into the grave.* To these De Groot adds another case taken from a less reliable authority.† The three instances of its being actually done were all on behalf of rulers and Wei Wu-tzŭ was the head of a powerful clan, but in his circle it was not a custom which must be obeyed. Of course these were not the only instances in which it was practised, but suttee could never be a mere formal ritual; when resorted to it is always something of a tragedy, stirring the passions and intrigues of families, such as Tso-shih made it his business to relate. But the evidence against its widespread use is not only negative: Tso-shih says categorically that the case in Sung in B.C. 589 was the first; perhaps he meant only the first case of a revival of the practice; but his words show that, as far as he knew, suttee was not the universal custom in the China of his time. On the other hand, Mo-tzŭ, 墨子, a native of Sung, writing later against extravagance at funerals, and perhaps exaggerating, may have had justification for saying that sometimes several hundreds perished. In Ch'in civilization was proverbially backward; but Ssŭ-ma's chronicles of that state say that even there it was introduced only in the latter part of the seventh century and abolished in the first year of earl Hsien, B.C. 384.‡

Suttee was a practice which would survive longest in courts and there, at least after the middle of the Chou dynasty, it was sporadic and not constant, so that it is not likely to have prevailed in other circles. Whether in the courts it was a survival, or a new custom induced by the arrogance and increasing luxury of the times, cannot be clearly known; but to us the probability seems to be that it was a survival of a more general ancient custom; and we

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* T—649a.

† "The Miscellanies of the Western Metropolis," he says, recounts the opening of the grave of Marquis Yu and finding the remains of more than one hundred bodies, of which one was a lad and the others all women.

‡ SM—II, pp. 22 and 58.

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cannot but look with suspicion upon the date given by Ssŭ-ma for its introduction into Ch'in.

Our authorities give three instances of male victims, of which two occurred in the central states.

(1) With the large suttee at the funeral of earl Mu of Ch'in, of one hundred and seventy-seven persons, there were also three male victims who are especially lamented in the Odes. *

(2) In B. C. 581 marquis Ching of Chin was ill, fell into a privy and died; the night before this happened one of his servants dreamt that he carried his master on his back up to heaven; so he was made to take him out of the privy and was buried with him. †

(3) In Chü five chariots and five men were buried with the viscount in B.C. 507. ‡ De Groot adduces one more instance as occurring in this period: the history of Wu describes how a number of men and women were entrapped in the vault of a princess; the account admits that the people disapproved of the deed, and despite the inclusion of women reminds us of the somewhat similar case of entrapping the workmen at the burial of Shih Huangti as a precaution against plunder.

Tso-shih's opinion of the sacrifice of men at the funeral of earl Mu was more than disapproval; to him the deed was so outrageous that it would for ever be a stumblingblock to Ch'in. Just as we do not accuse the Chinese of habitually using human sacrifices at their altars because such princes as Hsiang of Sung and Ling of Ch'u made victims of their enemies; so these few instances do not persuade us that under the mid-Chou kings it was customary even in Ch'in to sacrifice men at funerals.

Our authorities are concerned more with the rites in the temple. The dead who were worshipped had each his tablet in a separate shrine. That of the Remote Ancestor was in

* O—I, xi. 6; cf. S. M. Vol. II, p. 45.

† T—374b. Tso-shih's account of the death of marquis Ching hardly agrees with the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and is open to suspicion.

‡ T—748a. This passage shows that the technical word refers only to human beings.

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the middle, facing south towards the entrance, and the others in order on the right and left facing east and west.* The Odes give the names of the four seasonal sacrifices, the *yo* 禴, *tsŭ* 嗣, *chêng* 烝, and *ch'ang*† 嘗, of which the last was in the autumn,‡ the others in spring, summer, and winter respectively; the autumn and winter ones, *ch'ang* and *chêng*, appear to have been the great sacrifices,§ but in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* they are mentioned only for some irregularity. Thus in B. C. 704 a *chêng*‖ was offered in both the first and fifth months: they would be repetitions for some reason. Under the Shang dynasty it appears to have been usual to repeat the sacrifice on the second day, probably in some lessened form;¶ the custom fell into desuetude, but these Chou repetitions though there unusual, may not have been wholly irregular.

* D—xix, 4.

† O—II, i. 6; cf. H—IV, xiii, 29. In H—IV. iv, 1, *tzu* is used more generally.

‡ O—IV, ii. 4.

§ O—II, vi. 5; IV, iii. 1,2; D—xix. 3.

‖ S—II, viii. 1-3; xiv. 5. At this period the year began in January. Dr. Legge thought that the *chêng* in the first month was regular, the first month being in the middle of the real winter, and that it is mentioned in order to emphasize its repetition in the fifth month. This can hardly be allowed; the fixed rule of the classic elsewhere is only to mention sacrifices in cases which were peculiar; the mention of it in the first month rather shows that the ancestral sacrifices should follow the seasons of the calendar and not those of the natural year. The *chêng* was offered in the 11th month in B. C. 541 in Chin (T 581b. Tu Yü 杜預 on this passage points out that after the marquis had offered his sacrifice a minister offered his private one on the first day of the 12th month, and therefore the state sacrifice was in the 11th month. He says elsewhere that it was the rule for ministers to offer theirs after the ruler; thus the day and even the month were not fixed). In the same state it was once offered between the 1st and 3rd months just after the marquis' funeral and so was probably a repetition as sometimes happened in Lu (T472a). The *ch'ang* in the 8th month as recorded in S. was in the calendaric autumn, three days after the destruction of the temple granary by fire, which would be a reason for its repetition, and therefore, though in its proper season, it is rightly mentioned in the classic. In Ch'i a *ch'ang* was offered in the 11th month (T 542a); this also would probably be a repetition.

¶ H—IV, ix. 1.

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There were also minor monthly sacrifices.* All were offered to both father and mother,† and the father's wife had her place by his side.‡

At these services the dead were represented by a young member of the family who was seated and was called the *shih*, or corpse.§ Several odes describe the services: how sweet spirit was distilled from black millet‖ and the victims slain ritually with a knife hung with bells.¶ The flesh of the bull and ram was cooked beforehand, the furnaces attended to reverently. All being prepared and the offerings set forth by the women, the family, including wives and the guests, all came;** the officer of the temple pours out a libation inside the outer gate of the court; the Representative of the dead is seated and urged to eat; the part taken by the Chief Sacrificer is not described, but he would present the offerings, pour out the

* S—VI, vi. 8.

† O—IV, ii. 4, 7; iii. 5.

‡ S—I, v. 4; V, viii. 4. Sons by inferior wives but inheriting the title were supposed to belong to the proper wife, whose tablet alone could be in the temple. In the first of these cases there were two irregularities. Marquis Yin succeeded his brother, who had left a son by an inferior wife; and Yin, to show that he considered the youth to be his own heir, had his mother's tablet erected as though she had been marchioness; but the late marchioness' tablet was already in her husband's shrine and so Yin, besides introducing a tablet which should not have been there, had a special shrine made for it. In the second case the lady was dowager marchioness but had been put to death in another state for her crimes, and Tso-shih says that this invalidated her claim to a place in the temple. That something was wrong may be gathered from the text of the classic; her tablet was erected eight years after her death and then only, as it were, surreptitiously, "advantage being taken" of the great *ti* sacrifice, no special ceremony being observed. These two cases therefore had each its peculiar irregularity and the mention of them in in the classic is not because they were women. The several passages in the Odes, referred to above, show that mothers were worshipped as well as fathers, and their tablets would be in the temple.

§ O—II, vi. 5; cf. III, ii. 3-4; T—542a and c; perhaps there were more than one. This curious custom was abolished soon after the Chou dynasty (L—Vol. IV, p. 319).

‖ O—III, 8; cf. I vi. 1; II, vi. 5 ¶ O—II, vi. 6.

** Arranging themselves on right and left according to the tablet of him from whom they were descended (D—xlix. 4.)

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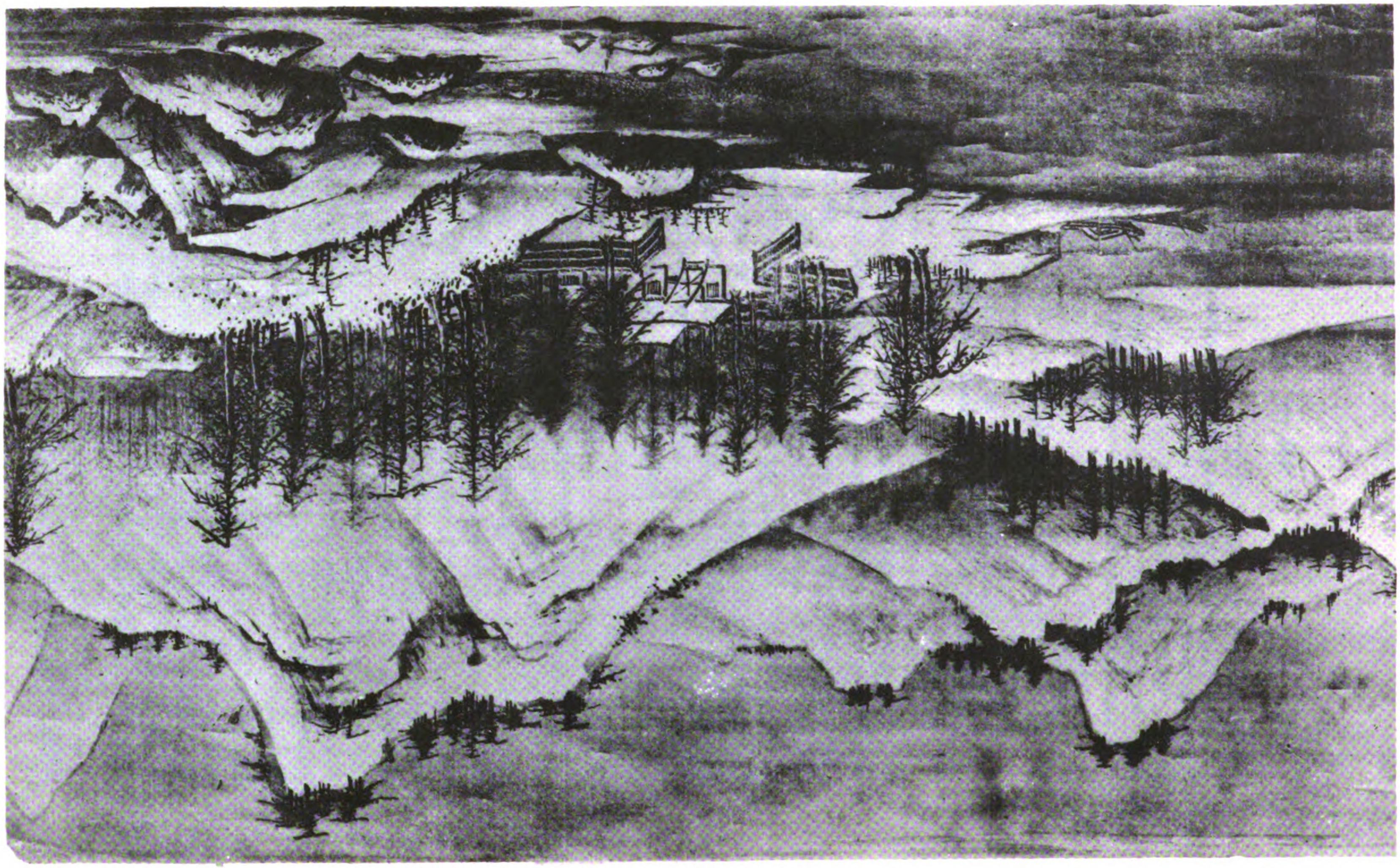

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libation* and make his obeisance; the cup is passed round and all drink; spirits come and feast silently; the officer announces the acceptance of the sacrifice and pronounces the blessing; bells and drums give warning; the sacrificer goes to his place: the Representative of the dead rises and is escorted by the musicians,† and the spirits return to their abode. The service being ended, the trays and dishes are removed to another room where all assemble, and having only drunk before, they now begin feasting to the sound of music, and and the officer pronounces the second blessing. Such in brief was the service at the autumn and winter sacrifice.‡ Not only beef and mutton but fish and fruits were prepared;§ indeed everything for a great banquet; offerings of silk also were presented and afterwards buried.‖ The sacrifices were great clan festivals where the people ate and drank food prepared ritually and presented in the temple. One of the odes satirizes and laments the drunkenness often indulged in at the temple festivals.¶

There were special sacrifices called *ti* 禘; the one introducing a new tablet into the temple after the completion of mourning was called the Fortunate *ti*,** but that *par excellence* of the name, simply called *ti*, was offered after an interval of several years†† at the great shrine *i.e.* of the Remote Ancestor. The *Li-chi* says that it could properly be used only by the king‡‡ whilst another but less reputable book of the same classic says that it was offered in Lu to the duke of Chou in the sixth month and, according to the Bamboo Annals, a

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* H—V, xiii. 29.

† The musicians were blind. Posturers or pantomimes with flutes also took part in the services (S—I, v. 4; cf. X, xv. 2.)

‡ O—II, vi, 5.

§ O—IV, i, (ii) b; II vi. 6; I, i. 2 and c.

‖ T—597b.

¶ O—II, vii. 6.

** S—IV, ii. 2; mentioned because it was only 22 months after the death; (cf. S—VI, ii. 2: T—473a. The *Li-chi* calls this sacrifice *fu* 祔 R—II, ii. (i.) 39; XIII, i. 12, 23.)

†† Some say three years and some five.

‡‡ R—XIII, i, 17; this book is thought by some to be by Confucius' disciple Tzŭ-hsia; cf. R—XIV; i; XX i.

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marquis of Lu in the time of king Ch'êng offered a *ti* to the duke of Chou in the eighth month:* if such be the fact it could not have been usurped so early in the dynasty. We have seen that marquis Hui is said by the same authority to have asked permission to use "the rites of the *chiao* and of the Ancestral temple" but was refused it. The *ti* being the greatest of the Ancestral rites was probably in the mind of the marquis, and the *Li-chi* may have read it into the "rites of the Ancestral temple" and concluded that the king refused permission to use it at all; but, as it was remarked in the case of the *chiao*, the point of the request was probably in the word "rites," so that the *ti* in some form may have been legitimately used in Lu. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* alludes to the *ti* only once, when it was offered by marquis Hsi in the seventh month of B. C. 652.† The change from the old sixth month would be a sufficient reason for its mention in the classic.‡ In that year the seventh month probably included the summer solstice and the change was made to complete the analogy with the *chiao* at the winter solstice.§ There is only the unsatisfactory evidence of the *Li-chi* for believing that in the early part of the dynasty the solstitial sacrifices were royal prerogatives, but if it were so it would account for the great *chiao* in Lu being retained at the winter solstice and for its association with Shang-ti; it would also account for marquis Hsi changing the *ti* sacrifice to the summer solstice; but to make the analogy complete he should also have associated this latter with the royal Remote Ancestor; and this is what he did: an ode of his time traces his ancestor back to Hou Chi and says "In spring and autumn he (the marquis) is not neglectful and his offerings are all without fault; to the great

* The present text of the Annals puts in the king's 13th year, *i.e.* before the duke's death; the paragraph has evidently been misplaced and refers to a later period in the reign.

† S—V, viii. 4.

‡ Another reason may, however, be found in that on this occasion an improper tablet was introduced into the temple, and this is what Tso-shih dwells upon; but they were two separate matters.

§ See R—XVIII, ii (ii) 24. In R. the summer *tzu* is called *ti* (R—III, iii. 5, 8; XXII, 24; cf. V, i, 23; XXV, 6, 7). The *ti* had then absorbed the *tzu*.

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and sovereign Ti and to his great ancestor Hou Chi, he offers the victims red and pure; they enjoy; they approve and bestow blessings in large numbers; the duke of Chou and (his other) ancestors also bless him."* It does not follow that Hou Chi's shrine was erected in the temple but even his name should not have been introduced into the liturgy. At last marquis Hui's ambition was being achieved but as yet only in a tentative way; the innovation however would increase. With Hou Chi, kings T'ai and Wên were necessarily included, and in Confucius' time, two centuries, later we find a minister saying "In the 10th month Lu has a worship of Shang-ti and the former kings, beginning on the first *hsin* day and ending on the last;"† by that time association of Shang-ti with the sacrifice had become more definite and was extended to the other services in the temple. This would amply justify Confucius' unwillingness to look on at the great *ti* after the first libation.‡

The problem of these innovations when the royal authority was no more than a shadow, cannot be wholly solved. But on the whole it seems to be likely that the great *ti* was legitimately used in Lu in the sixth month and that marquis Hsi changed it to the summer solstice and associated it with Hou Chi. Confucius' objection does not seem to have been against the entire rite; and to the jealousy of some of the States, Lu had the right of using the *ti* music.§

Besides the great and the fortunate *ti* there were others of the name, probably for special occasions.‖

Such briefly are the principal gleanings about the ancestral rites which we gather from the authorities, but for full details of them we must turn to the *Li-chi;* it, however,

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* O—IV, ii, 4. The ode was not written actually for the temple but it leaves little doubt that Shang-ti and Hou Chi were associated with the Lu sacrifices in marquis Hsi's time. The other ode to Hou Chi (III, ii. 1.) was probably used at the royal *chiao* as Father of Husbandry.

† T—832b. The sacrifice is not named but it was one of the regular ones in the A, T, and was probably the *ch'ang*.

‡ A—III, x.

§ T—446b.

‖ T—658b, 710a, 770a.

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appears to suppose that no essential change took place during the eight hundred years of the dynasty.

The temple being the spiritual abode of their ancestors was the centre of the clan life. The ceremony of capping on attaining manhood was performed in the temple with libations, offerings and music. * Betrothals were announced there, † and probably the marriage ceremony was at the ancestral shrine. Prayers after fasting were offered in the temple for special objects but not always in person; ‡ and announcements made of important public affairs. § Military expeditions were always first announced in the temple, and on the return of the troops the chief drank a votive cup of wine and had the transaction entered in the tablets. ‖ Prisoners and spoils of war were set forth in the temple. ¶ Covenants were made there, and announced publicly at the gate. **

How far back was the worship of ancestors carried? The consensus of opinion is with the *Li-chi* in saying that the temple of the Chou kings contained seven shrines, four of immediate ancestors, two of the High Ancestors, kings Wên and Wang, founders of the dynasty, and one of the Remote Ancestor, Hou Chi; whilst feudal lords had five shrines and great ministers three. †† The *Shu-ching* gives no clear intimation that either the Remote Ancestor or High Ancestor was worshipped under the first two dynasties. It is in one of the doubtful books that the Shang temple is called "seven-shrined." ‡‡ King Pan Kêng says that his High Sovereign

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* T—441a.

† T—26a.

‡ T—711b; cf. 533b.

§ T—616b.

‖ T—40b; 457a; cf. 19a, 419a.

¶ T—212a; 429b, 668a.

** T—557b; 452a. The imprecation against breaking the covenant was made in the street.

†† R—XX, 1-5; cf. III, iii. 4. It is not made clear whether the shrines were under one roof or were separate buildings: they were, however, large enough to admit considerable ornaments (S—II, ii. 4).

‡‡ H—IV, vi. 16. That Kao-tsung's sacrifice was to T'ang depends only upon the statement in the Preface (P—29).

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was still active in guiding the affairs of the house; perhaps here 'High Sovereign,' like the other terms 'former sovereigns' and 'spiritual sovereigns' in the same book should be taken in the plural, referring to his more immediate ancestors now on high; further down he speaks of his High Ancestor clearly meaning T'ang, but not as being still active.* In the Shang Odes, however, T'ang, founder of the dynasty, was undoubtedly worshipped as High Ancestor; only one of them can be approximately dated, it was written several generations after Pan Kêng and nearly at the close of the dynasty.† Another of the Shang Odes traces the ancestry of the family to the mother of Shun's minister Hsieh 契; ‡ but it is not clear that the reference to Hsieh is anything more than historical, for the first stanza of the ode is in praise of the emperor Yü from whom the Shang dynasty did not descend, and the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor, though suggested, is not proved by this ode; it would be of later introduction than that of the High Ancestor. An ode of the Chou dynasty says that the family began with T'an-fu,§ and it was written after the foundation of the dynasty; but later, the Chou kings traced their line back to Hou Chi who was worshipped as their Remote Ancestor; unless they changed their Remote Ancestor from T'an-fu to Hou Chi, it seems to follow that the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor was not introduced until some generations after king Wu. In most of the odes in praise of him, Hou Chi appears to have been Father of Husbandry; only one is put amongst the ancestral odes of the temple and it cannot be dated.‖ In Lu, however, the shrine of the Remote Ancestor, the *t'ai-miao*, existed in B. C. 710¶ and the royal house would certainly have theirs before the feudal lords. All then that can be

* H—IV, vii. (ii.) 14; (iii.) 6

† O—IV, iii. 3, written for the descendants of Wu Ting.

‡ O—IV, iii. 4.

§ O—III, i. 3, 1.

‖ O—IV, i. (i.) 10.

¶ S—II, ii. 4. It was to the duke of Chou, who would really correspond with the High and not with the Remote Ancestor of the royal house; but the term *t'ai miao* was used of the shrine of the Remote Ancestor in the royal temple. In Chin the first marquis was worshipped as High Ancestor in B. C. 607 (T—290a).

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affirmed positively is that the High Ancestor, founder of the line of kings, was worshipped in the latter years of the Shang, and the Remote Ancestor, the first of the family, in the first half of the Chou dynasty.

With regard to the number of immediate ancestors who had shrines in the temple, it is noticeable that the greatest number whom the Chou odes show to have been worshipped at one time is three, *—the same number as those to whom the duke of Chou prayed. The introduction of the High Ancestor however would prepare the way for the worship of the intervening generations, and the duke of Chou had the generosity to say that many of the Shang kings were in heaven. † The innovation showed itself afterwards in the temple rites. Tso-shih says that when king Ching 敬 returned to his capital in B. C. 503 he announced his arrival at the shrine of king Chuang, his tenth predecessor and the ninth generation. ‡ In Lu we have already seen that the shrines of two marquises were re-erected in the temple; in B. C. 492 a fire broke out there and destroyed the shrines of marquises Huan and Hsi, the tenth and seventh generations back. § We do not hear of their having been re-erected and the presumption is that they had been kept in the temple. Compared either with the three shrines of the early odes or with the four of the late rule, there was apparently a tendency in the sixth and fifth centuries to increase the number of ancestors worshipped, and the rule given in the *Li-chi* may have been a compromise into which opinion had gradually settled.

We have so far been dealing only with the accepted rites. The distinction between them and private thought should be kept in mind. Changes in thought precede changes

* Kings T'ai (not named) Chi and Wên, O—III, i. 7. Chi, Wên and Wu in O—III, i. 2. Wên and Wu (not named) and Ch'êng in O—IV, i. (i.) 6. Wu, Ch'êng and K'ang in O—IV, i. (i.) 9; cf. also III, i. 9, 1.

† H—V, xii. 10.

‡ T—765b.

§ S—XII, iii. 3. It has been suggested that as the fire destroyed only shrines which should not have been in the proper temple, they stood apart. A saying of Confucius preserved by Tso-shih *in loc.*, shows that he did not approve of their existence.

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in the rites, but would prepare the way for them, just as the duke of Chou expressed an opinion in advance of what appears to have been the ritual of his time. Before we consider individual opinions concerning the dead it may be pointed out that there is evidence of a development of thought which has left traces in the language. The full term for the manes is *kuei-shên;* when used strictly the two characters should probably be taken separately and *shên* being used later of natural objects, the combination might also mean the manes and other spirits. There are passages in which this extended use of the term would doubtless apply * but probably none in which it must do so, and all can be taken as simply meaning the manes, soul and spirit. De Groot has pointed out that the term is nearly always *kuei-shên; kuei* has the first place and is a pictorial character whilst *shên* is phonetic; he thinks therefore that the primitive Chinese had only the idea of the animal soul which is supposed to remain with the body, and that *shên*, the more intelligent and enduring spirit was conceived later.† This is probably true. *Shên* may have been in use before the records begin, though the earliest document of the undoubted books of the *Shu-ching* which uses the word is the *Pan Kêng* of the mid-Shang dynasty, where it refers to the dead. Like *kuei-shên*, where there is no doubt of its significance, *shên* alone is always connected with the spirits of the dead; in the odes of the temple it quite displaced the full term and it is only the *shên* which are spoken of as accepting the sacrifices. The more intelligent part of the spirits of the dead is therefore probably its primary meaning; but when polytheism began and deceased men became associated with the spiritual life of natural objects, the word *shén* was applied to them, though it is not applied, even adjectivally, to Heaven. ‡

* Dr. Legge takes it so in H—II, ii. 18; IV, iv. 2; V, vi. 6: A—VI, 20 (See L. vol. I, p. 261).

† *The Religious System of the Chinese:* Bk. II, p. 8. De Groot gives a very full account of the Chinese ideas of the soul in the first part of Vol. III of his work: but it needs to be read with discrimination concerning the dates of the authors quoted.

‡ According to Dr. Legge one Chinese critic has taken *Shén* in H—V, xxiii. 19, as an adjective.

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The Temple services show that originally the Chinese believed in some form of active existence after death. Pan Kêng of the mid-Shang dynasty spoke clearly of the influence which the dead have upon the living; when he met with difficulty in persuading his people to move from the flooded district, he threatened them with the anger of their forefathers. "Your grandfathers and fathers," he said, "will cut you off . . . . . they will earnestly represent to my High Sovereign saying, 'Execute heavy punishments upon our descendants' ".* But in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period examples have been given which show that calamities and punishments were more generally referred to Heaven and the spirits of natural objects than to ancestors, and the Odes give ample proof that blessings were expected from the dead who were worshipped; it was rather being forsaken by them than being visited which was dreaded. When the traitor Ming Hui-tzŭ of Wei was dying, he said to his son, "If you redeem my guilt, you you shall be my son; but if you cannot and if I continue to exist as a spirit, (*kuei-shên*), I will starve and will not partake in your sacrifices;" † this almost peevish threat, impotent for direct punishment, is in a very different tone from that of Pan Kêng. Also it was thought, at least by some, that after death an account would have to be given of acts done in life. Duke Mu of Sung succeeded to his elder brother and made his nephew his heir, saying that unless he did so, he would not be able to answer his brother who, in the other world, would ask him about his son. ‡ Still, in the *Ch'un ch'iu* period, belief in the activities of the dead had lost something of its reality. Confucius declined to discuss death or spiritual beings, and others of his time had doubts about the future life but bolder thinkers attempted to justify the old belief. According to Tso-shih, Tzŭ-ch'an, 子產, an older contemporary of Confucius, taught that the human soul, immature at birth, grows in spirituality as its activities and experiences widen, and that it is more likely to do this when it inherits the temperament and social position of famous forbears, but

* H—IV, vii. (ii) 13-14
† T—48b.
‡ T—13b.

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that it is hindered by violence and wrongdoing, which are always held by the Chinese to be unintelligent. He applies his theory only to the case before him and concludes that the soul of an ordinary man who has died a natural death lingers about as a ghost, and much more will the soul of one who has enjoyed wide activities in life.* The idea seems to be that of a limited future life, proportionate to the intelligent activities of this life, and that these depend in a large measure upon social status. In accordance with this theory the *Li-chi* says that when a tablet lost its place in the temple, pushed out by new arrivals, it was relegated to a darker chamber called the *t'iao* 祧 behind the shrine of the High Ancestor, where it partook only in the great seasonal sacrifices; then, losing its place in the *t'iao*, the soul still had the altars outside the temple and then again the enclosed area for its resort; at the altars and the area it was sacrificed to only when, for special reasons, prayer was made to it; after finally losing its place in the area it was considered to be a mere ghost, *kuei*.†

It would perhaps be difficult to frame a better theory than Tzŭ-ch'an's to account for the ancestral rites of his time. It allows for the greater number of shrines in the temples of the higher circles, and gives a reason for the Remote Ancestor whose worship had already been introduced. The real reason for the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor, however, was not philosophical but social. Social needs were dominant; the desire and need for increased power in kings and nobles would grow with the size and complexity of the empire. Though other members of the family should assist in the rites and might even sacrifice for themselves, only the head could offer the regular sacrifices for the clan. Sacrifice to a person was the symbol of authority over all his descendants, hence it became necessary, the wider the authority which was claimed, the further back to extend the worship. The chief alone had the right to sanction the division of the clan and make a new branch of it, and it was done sparingly.

* T—618a.

† R—XX, 5. The number of altars outside corresponded with the shrines inside the temple.

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It was an urgent necessity which compelled the creation of the three great clans in Lu, and it eventually robbed the marquises of their power.

It was upon moral grounds that Confucius refused to discuss the future life, and the inefficiency of the common belief to affect morals will be obvious. There is indeed a faint hope of blessedness for the few eminently virtuous who have enjoyed high position in this world, but there is no real fear of future punishment for evil doing. The duke of Chou thought that the virtue of the virtuous kings of Shang gave them a place amongst the beatified,* but Tzŭ-ch'an allowed them only a more prolonged existence still dependent upon the sacrifices of the living; when the rowdy Po-yu 伯有 was killed and the people became frightened of his ghost, he explained that his restlessness was not due to his crimes but to his violent death, and appointed him an heir to continue his sacrifices.† A bad man was still a father and shared in the offerings of his decendants,‡ and the utmost which a brave who committed the enormity of slaying his ruler had to fear was being without hope of a place in the "hall of light."§ A strange passage, which Tso-shih also puts into the mouth of Tzŭ-ch'an, says that the spirit of Kun 鯀, who was put to death by the emperor Shun for using wrong methods to control the flood, was changed into a yellow bear and entered into the "abyss"; so far it reads as though his fate was meant to be a punishment, but it goes on to say that in the Hsia dynasty he was made assessor at the *chiao* sacrifice and was still worshipped in Chin.‖ Perhaps only one other passage alludes to the journey of the soul after death; earl Chuang of Chêng, famous in the early part of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, had a younger brother, the favourite of his mother, who incited him to rebel; the earl banished his mother to a frontier city and swore that he would not see her again until

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* H—V, xiii. 10.

† T—618 (See the ghost story in T—157).

‡ T—234a; 787-8.

§ T—233a.

‖ T—617b. The punishment of the typically vicious Chaos, Monster, Block and Glutton (T—283a; 625b) was probably in this world.

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he came to the Yellow Springs. * Thus there is no teaching of future punishment in these records; not having the force of intelligence which alone can preserve individuality beyond the grave the wicked are not rewarded but are not punished; Pan Kêng and Min Hui-tzŭ's threats apply to the present life and not to the future. If this be a defect in the early religion of the Chinese it was due, not to Ancestor worship, but to their conception of man's relation to nature. Immorality was a want of harmony with the common life, and outraged Nature, like the snake with its old irritating skin, simply sloughed off the wicked to decompose into their primal elements.

[*To be concluded*]

* T—6a.

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LE GRAND PELERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

PAR

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

[*Continued from p. 144*].

Ch. II. Article II.—*Le Pléiade des artistes, poètes et littérateurs en villégiature à Lang-chan.*

Sous ce titre nous plaçons les lettrés, artistes, qui vinrent se fixer sur la montagne de Lang-chan pour y vivre plus à leur goût, loin du tumulte des affaires, et s'y livrer à leurs études favorites. La plupart sont des dilettantes, des rêveurs, coulant doucement leurs derniers jours dans la mélancolie et le laisser aller. Tous ces hommes sont désignés dans les Annales sous le nom générique de Solitaires.*

A. Sous les Song 宋.

Tsoei Toen-che 崔敦詩, prénom Ta-ya 大雅, académicien et précepteur du prince impérial. Après avoir quitté la cour il revint habiter avec son frère Toen-li 敦禮, lettré de marque. Le séjour de Lang-chan lui était particulièrement agréable. Ces deux hommes écrivirent plusieurs ouvrages très appréciés de leur temps. On les avait surnommés les deux Tsoei 二崔, et c'est sous ce nom qu'ils sont connus dans les lettres.

* Cf. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, Liv. IX en entier.

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B. Sous les Ming 明 (1368-1628).

1° Kou Yao 顧瑤, prénom Kong-yu 公玉. Reçu bachelier avant sa 16e année, il fut refusé à tous ses autres examens. Il s'en consolait en pinçant son luth et cherchait la joie au fond de ses coupes de vin. Né poète, il composa des vers admirés de tous. Ce recueil a pour titre Tchou-sou-yuen-tcheng-sou-kao 竹素園正續稿.

2° Kouo Tseng 葛增, prénoms Che-sieou 士修 et Yeou-hiuen 幼玄. Vint séjourner sur la montagne, pour se consoler de ses insuccès aux examens, il y mourut à 27 ans: déjà il avait composé plusieurs poésies de valeur, éditées sous le titre de Hai-kiu-hing-lo 海居行樂 et Fou-t'cha-i-kien 浮槎倚劍.

3° Wang Ki 王勣, prénom Jou-kia 汝嘉, poète et paysagiste. Avec ses amis lettrés il composa l'ouvrage Yeou-i-tsi 游藝集 en sept livres, et Tsoan-yen-keou-hiuen 纂言句玄 en seize livres. Ses peintures de paysages forment un recueil de vingt livres, intitulé Hoa Che 畫史.

4° Kiang I-chan 江一山, prénom Tse-yun 子雲; célèbre lettré, qui refusa toute charge officielle, et prenait plaisir à s'occuper de travaux champêtres. Il fut un des rédacteurs des anciennes *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, retoucha le Hai-fang-tou-kao 海防圖考, et composa l'ouvrage Choang-lien-ko-tsi 雙蓮閣集.

5° Wang Sing-tche 王醒之, prénom Mong-siu 夢叟 poète et littérateur, grand amateur des beaux paysages, visita le Koang-si et revint habiter sa villa bâtie sur les flancs de la montagne de Lang-chan. Il écrivit plusieurs ouvrages de poésie: I-yun-tsao 怡雲草, Sien-i-tsao 仙夷草 et Tchan-tchan-yen 贉贉言.

6° Tchou Tang-che 朱當世, prénom Yeou-wen 右文. Sa mémoire tenait du prodige: il pouvait réciter un ouvrage après une seule lecture. Sa conduite fut toujours irréprochable. Un jour se présenta une sirène du ruisseau: il la chassa. Ayant trouvé une somme d'argent qu'un voyageur avait perdue sur la route, il attendit qu'il revint la chercher, et la lui rendit. Il aimait passionnément le vin: souvent il oubliait sa raison au fond de son verre; alors il se prenait à maudire les

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mœurs dépravées de ses contemporains, et pleurait amèrement sur les misères de l'humanité. Il travailla à la composition des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*. Ses ouvrages sont, Pi-cheou-tsi 敝帚集 et Kou-kin-ho-tche 古今合轍.

7° Lou Choen-hio 盧純學, prénom Tse-ming 子明, littérateur et poète; dans sa maison, construite sur le versant de Lang-chan, il avait réuni plusieurs milliers de volumes: sa bibliothèque faisait tout son bonheur. Il coopéra à la rédaction des vieilles *Annales de Tong-tcheou* et écrivit plusieurs ouvrages. Ses contemporains lui donnèrent le nom de Tcheng-tsing-sien-cheng 眞靜先生. On cite de lui le Pei-hia-ling 白下吟, et le Chan-tchong-tsi 山中集.

8° Tang Yeou-koang 湯有光, prénom Tse-ming 慈明; littérateur et poète très, gouté. Ses deux amis intimes étaient Fan Se-hiun 范司勳 et Fan Fong-i; ils aimaient à festoyer ensemble, et faire des vers et jouer aux échecs. Le titre de son recueil de poésies est Che-wen-tsiuen-tsi 詩文全集.

9° Lieou Yng-fang 柳應芳, prénom Tcheng-fou 陳父; poète, mais surtout calligraphe: on se disputer comme des p'erles les caractères tracés par son magique pinceau. Ses vers sont contenus dans le recueil qui porte son nom, Lieou Tcheng-fou-tsi 柳陳父集.

10° Suen Yeou-teng 孫幼登, homme très excentrique, d'une originalité qui le fit passer pour un génie renvoyé en penitence sur terre.* Avant sa naissance sa mere vit en songe un bonze qui lui remettait une robe rouge. Des son réveil elle accoucha d'un enfant qui se mit à sourire. Un génie lui enseigna à émettre un sifflement pour appeler les grues, (symbole d'immortalité). On le surnomma Siao-fou 嘯父, "le siffleur." Il passait ses journées à chanter des poésies, et communiquait avec les génies. Ses deux ouvrages sont Sou-men-tsi 蘇門集, et Ou-tche-tsao 五芝草: poésies.

*Les génies sont renvoyés sur terre, croit-on, pour expier quelques fautes dont ils se seraient rendus coupables. *V. g.* la legende de Tchou-pa-kiai, puni par Yu-hoang pour avoir attenté à l'honneur de sa fille.

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11° Chao Tsien 邵潛, prénom Tsien-fou 潛夫. Après son admission au baccalauréat il négligea de se présenter aux examens pour les grades supérieurs. Il parcourut en artiste les provinces du Ho-nan, du Chan-tong, du Kiang-nan et du Tché-kiang. Ces voyages le mirent en relation avec tous les lettrés de ces divers pays, mais ne remontèrent point ses finances, si bien qu'il se vit obligé de vendre ses poésies pour vivre. Sa femme, née Tcheng 成, se désaffectionna du pauvre poète et résolut de divorcer. Chao Tsien fit une pièce de vers pour lui souhaiter bon voyage! Quant à lui, il quitta Lang-chan et alla habiter Jou-kao 如皋.

Un jour on trouva dans sa cour trois tiges du Ling-tche-tsao 靈芝草, (herbe des immortels). Mandarins et lettrés vinrent le féliciter. Il écrivit plusieurs ouvrages, entre autres Tcheou-tcheng-tse 州乘資 en quatre livres.

12° Hou Tcheng-i 胡澄一, prénom Tche-choei 止水; très habile lettré, hôte assidu de Lang-chan, où il aimait séjourner. Son caractère participait à la nature du gingembre: on l'avait plaisamment surnommé La tsiuen sien-cheng 辣泉先生, Mr. "La source piquante." Il écrivit l'ouvrage Che-nien-kou-kin-kien 詩年古今彙.

13° Kou Kouo-wan 顧國琬, prénoms Yong-joei 用柔 et Kiu-fei 去非, nom honorifique Koei-fang 圭峰. Il vécut retiré à Lang-chan; son habitation était au pied de la montagne à l'Est. Lettré distingué, poète choyé de tous les littérateurs de l'époque, il composa l'ouvrage King-tang-fou-tse-tsi 慶堂父子集.

14° Tsien Yo 錢岳, prénom Ki-yuen 起元 et Ou-tchang 五長; poète fécond, retiré dans sa solitude de Lang-chan. Peintre distingué, on se disputait ses tableaux représentant des oiseaux, des animaux et des poissons. Il écrivit plus de 80 pièces de poésies.

15° Li King-tchou 李敬初, prénom Hong-tchan 鴻漸. En 1373 il fut nommé Ministre de la Justice, puis se retira à Lang-chan où il passa 14 ans. Mandé de nouveau à la cour, il y exerça de hautes fonctions et de nouveau revint terminer ses jours dans la paix.

16° Teou Tcheng-fang 竇承芳. Censeur en 1406, il fut emprisonné pour avoir osé parler trop énergiquement.

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Relâché, il occupa diverses charges mandarinales au Tché-kiang et ailleurs. A 70 ans les poésies et les œuvres littéraires charmaient encore ses vieux jours sur la montagne du Loup.

17° Chao Ming 邵旻, prénom Tien-ming 天民. Docteur de la promotion 1424, puis Grand Juge criminel, il se montra trop sévère, fut accusé calomnieusement et dégradé. Les dernières années de sa vie se passèrent à Lang-chan, où il prenait plaisir à faire des poésies sur les vieux souvenirs et sur les vieux monuments du passé.

18° Chao Tang 邵棠, prénom Ming-ngai 民愛. Reçu au doctorat en 1487, puis mandarin à Tchong-king 崇慶, il fut nommé assistant du Ministère des Finances. Une maladie l'obligea à donner sa démission. Alors il se retira sur la montagne de Lang-chan, où tout son meilleur passe-temps était la composition de ses poésies. Il fut l'auteur du Mong-kiu-tsai-tsi 夢菊齋集.

19° Ling Siang 凌相, prénoms King-ki 芹溪 et Tchong-fou 忠甫. Pendant sa jeunesse il se forma aux études littéraires à l'école de Koei-tien 龜田, Ecole du "Champ de la Tortue," à Lang-chan, où il étudiait avec son frère. Promu Docteur en 1499, puis mandarin à I-choei 沂水 il exerça la charge de censeur à Nanking et au Koang-si. Deux ans il fut gouverneur du Hou-koang, ensuite il présenta sa démission. Ses ouvrages sont Koei-tien-tsi 龜田集, King-ki-tseou-i 芹溪奏議.

20° Ling Kiai 凌楷, prénom Toan-fou 端甫, frère cadet du précédent, passa son doctorat en 1508; il exerça les charges d'assistant au Ministère des Finances et de gouverneur au Kiang-si. Ses poésies étaient très en vogue. Il composa le Koei-tien-i-kao 龜田遺稿.

21° T'soei Tong 崔桐, prénoms Lai-fong 來鳳 et Tong-tcheou 東洲. Né à Hai-men, Docteur en 1516, il fut admis à l'Académie en 1517. Après avoir exercé l'office de premier assistant au Tribunal des Rites il vint établir sa résidence à Lang-chan, où il passa le reste de ses jours. Son bonheur était de contempler la belle nature, et de composer des poésies sur toutes les curiosités naturelles et artistiques des cinq montagnes. Ses œuvres poétiques sont contenues dans la compilation Tcheou-tcheng 州乘.

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22° **Ma Koen 馬坤**, prénom Choen-tsing **順卿**. En 1523 admis au grade de Docteur, il devint Ministre des Finances, puis donna sa démission et vint passer à Lang-chan les. onze dernières années de sa vie. L'empereur l'honora plusieurs fois de son souvenir. Il écrivit l'ouvrage intitulé Che-tchou-i-kao **石渚遺稿**, Esquisses de l'îlot rocheux.

23° Tsien Ye **錢業**, prénom Kiun-wang **君望**. Tout jeune il fut étudiant à Ma-ngan-chan **馬鞍山**, habita depuis Lang-chan et fut reçu licencié. Ami intime des lettrés Tong Han-jou **董漢儒** et Kao Tsie **高節**, tous trois fondèrent une académie sentimentale, appelée San-tcheng-hien **三辰軒**, tout au sommet de la montagne. Tous trois étaient licenciés de la promotion 1532.

Tsien Ye exerça une charge de mandarin au Tché-kiang, devint censeur, et termina ses jours à Lang-chan. Trente ans après sa mort on obtint de l'empereur qu'il reçût des sacrifices. Il écrivit les ouvrages Ki-che-tsa-yong **紀事雜咏**, Wen-tcheng-tsi **問政集**, Fou-i-siang-tchao **賦役詳票**.

24° T'chen Yao **陳堯**, prénoms King-fou **敬甫**, Ou-kang **梧岡** et Sing-wong **醒翁**. Docteur en 1535, il fut mandarin au Tché-kiang, au Koang-tong, au Yun-nan, et pendant dix années au Se-tchoan. Etant tombé malade il revint à Lang-chan pour réparer ses forces. Il était si plongé dans ses rêveries poetiques qu'il restait des journées sur la montagne oubliant de rentrer dans sa demeure. Toute ses œuvres sont comprises dans la compilation Tcheou-tcheng **州乘**.

25° Suen Yng **孫纓**, prénom Kouo-tcheng **國正**, chef des lettrés à Ting-tcheou **定州**; quand il revint au pays il n'apporta que son luth pour toute richesse. Il s'installait dans le kiosque Si-sin-ting **洗心亭**, kiosque de la "Purification du cœur," épanchait les sentiments de son âme dans les langoureuses mélodies qu'il tirait de son luth, en face du panorama grandiose déployé sous ses regards. Ses poésies ont pour titre Si-sin-lou **洗心錄** et Yen-tsi-tsi **燕賚集**.

26° Lou Fong **盧楓**, nommé encore Lou Pe **盧白**, prénom Kong-tcheng **拱宸**. Lang-chan était son pays natal. Il fut longtemps chef des lettrés à Tai-ngan **泰安**, remania les *Annales de Tai-chan*, puis revint se fixer sur sa chère

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montagne, où il écrivit son Pé-lang-chan-jen-tsi 白狼山人集, Recueil de l'homme de la montagne du Loup blanc.

27° Yang Kien 楊乾, prénom Tse-tsing 子清. Il fit une étude approfondie de son livre favori le *Tçhoen-tsieou* de Confucius. Licencié en 1549, puis reçu au Doctorat, il était l'ami de tous les grands lettrés de l'époque. Après avoir géré avec habileté diverses charges mandarinales, il coula en paix ses dernières années sur la montagne de Lang-chan.

28° Tsao Ta-tong 曹大同, prénom Tse-tcheng 子貞. Docteur très versé dans toutes les branches de la littérature, il fut choisi comme grand échanson de l'empereur. Il passa à Lang-chan les derniers temps de sa vie et composa des œuvres volumineuses: voici leurs titres; Ou-ling-yen-hia-ki 五嶺烟霞記, "Mémoires des nuages irisés des cinq pics;" I-ling-hoa tchou 藝林華燭; et Yu-tche-leou-kao 玉芝樓稿. L'ouvrage I-ling-hoa-tchou comprend 60 livres.

29° Yuen Soei 袁隨, prénom Ming-yue 民悅. En 1556 il subit avec succès les épreuves du doctorat, exerça ensuite plusieurs charges importantes au Se-tchoan, enfin choisit la montagne de Lang-chan pour son lieu de retraite, où il mourut âgé de 73 ans.

30° Kou Yang-kien 顧養謙, prénom I-tsing 益卿. Il fut admis au grade de Docteur en 1565, devint assistant au Ministère des Finances, remplit plusieurs charges importantes au Fou-kien et au Koang-tong, fut Intendant à Hang-tcheou, et finalement Gouverneur au Liao-tong. Il renonça aux affaires et se retira avec les lettrés ses amis à Lang-chan, pour y terminer ses jours en paix. Ses ouvrages sont: Fou-Liao-tseou-i 撫遼奏議, "Mémoires d'un Gouverneur du Liao-tong;" Tŏu-fou-tseou-i 督府奏議, et plusieurs recueils de poésies et de littérature.

31° Pong Ta-i 彭大翼, prénom I-ho 一鶴. Docteur, grand amateur des belles lettres, il exerça la carrière mandarinale à Ou-tcheou 梧州. Les quarante dernières années de sa vie s'écoulèrent dans les travaux de littérature et de poésie sur la montagne du Loup. Le titre général de ses œuvres est Chan-tang-se-kao 山堂肆考, formant une collection de 240 livres.

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32° Tchang Tse 張梓, prénom Jo-tsai 若材. Docteur, il ne s'occupa que de travaux littéraires pendant toute sa vie. Il revisa les *Annales de Tong-tcheou* avec son ami Kiang I-chan 江一山. Il mourut à 80 ans; même les dernières années de sa longue vie furent consacrées à la littérature. Ses œuvres sont Tcheng-siun-tsing-che-cheou tchao 鄭鄆精舍手抄, Suen-lo-tsa-yen 孫蘿雜言, Tchan yeou-lou 闡幽錄, Tong-kiang-wen-tsi 東江文集.

33° Kiang I-koei 江一夔, prénom Ki-tchang 季章. D'abord mandarin à Ho-kien-fou 河間府, il échangea le souci des affaires contre les douceurs de la solitude à Lang-chan, où se réunissaient en sa compagnie tous les lettrés des alentours, pour festoyer, boire le vin et versifier. Sa joyeuse vie ne l'empêchait pas de se montrer ami des bonnes œuvres. Il construisit un pont au Sud de la ville, creusa un canal long de dix *li*, et bâtit trois tours à l'Est de la ville. Avec son ami Lou Choen-hio 盧純學 il écrivit le Lei-ling-t'an-cheng 類林探頤, en 110 livres.

34° Ling Fei-ko 凌飛閣, prénom Chang-tsing 尚卿. D'abord mandarin à Mien-yang 沔陽, il fut préfet de la capitale, puis échangea les fonctions administratives contre la liberté de la vie privée. Avec son ami Kao Yong-tche 高永哲 il institua la société des "Huit solitaires," Pa-i-che 八逸社 sur la montagne du Loup. Ces huit lettrés associés composèrent l'ouvrage Yeou-i-tsi 游藝集.

35° Song Yao-hoa 宋堯化, prénom Jou-yong 汝雍. Sa peau était si blanche qu'on l'avait surnommé Yu-jen 玉人, l'Homme de jade. Après un stage mandarinal à Sing-tchang 新昌 il termina sa vie à Lang-chan. Sa seule occupation consistait à chanter des poésies tout le jour.

36° Tchang Yuen-fang 張元芳, prénoms Yang-pé 楊伯 et Wan-pé 完璞. Il composait en prose et en vers avec une telle facilité qu'on l'avait surnommé Tsai-tse 才子, Le Sage habile, comme qui dirait L'Homme phénoménal.

Docteur en 1616, il fut grand examinateur des lettrés, puis termina sa vie dans la solitude de Lang-chan. Il restaura les temples et les pavillons de la montagne et bâtit une pagode sur celle de Hoang-gni-chan 黃泥山. Il passait ses journées avec Wang Yang-té 王揚德 et Fan Fong-i

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范鳳翼, buvant le vin et composant des poésies sur toutes les particularités célèbres des cinq montagnes. C'est ainsi qu'ils composèrent l'ouvrage Ou-yeou-tsao 五游草.

37° Pé Tcheng-mong 白正蒙, prénom Eul-heng 爾亨. Docteur en 1613, il tomba malade au Se-tchoan où il était mandarin, et vint rétablir sa santé sur la montagne de Lang-chan. Il rêva que dans une existence future il deviendrait *chen* 神 (être, transcendant esprit); les lettrés ses amis lui firent cadeau d'une inscription pour son salon d'étude et ainsi conçue: Ta mong 大夢 "Le Grand Songe." Il connut le jour de sa mort, alors il changea l'inscription et écrivit: Mong sing 夢醒 "Revil du Songe"* Il avait 36 ans quand il mourut. Il écrivit l'ouvrage intitulé Ta-mong-tchai-tsi 大夢齋集, Recueil de l'école du Grand Songeur.

38° Kiang Yu-kouo 姜玉菓, prénom King-k'ieou 荆璆. Docteur en 1622, puis Ministre des Finances, accusé calomnieusement, envoyé en disgrâce à Kiu-tcheou 衢州, puis réhabilité et nommé mandarin à Ping-yang 平陽 et à Ling-kiang 臨江, les troubles causés par les Mandchoux l'obligèrent à se sauver à Lang-chan. C'est là qu'il composa avec son ami Yang Ting-fang 楊廷芳 les ouvrages intitulés Wo-yeou-tsao 臥游草 et Se-chou-chouo-yo 四書說約.

39° Pao Tchoang-hing 包壯行, prénom Hi-sieou 稀修, calligraphe et peintre distingué. Reçu Docteur en 1643, Ministre des Travaux publics à Nan-king, il se brouilla avec ses supérieurs et se retira à Lang-chan. Son ouvrage principal est Che-pou-lao-jen-tsi 石圃老人集.

40° Siu Ki-ling 徐起霖, prénom Fou-yen 傅嚴. Gradué de 1639, il était issu d'une famille pauvre; il devint mandarin de Tcheng-ting-fou 眞定府 et se retira à Lang-chan sur ses vieux jours. Il restaura les kiosques et les pavillons, fonda une orphelinat, et mourut à 72 ans. Deux ouvrages sont sortis de son pinceau: Hiao-king 孝經, et Tong-chan-lou 同善錄.

41° T'chen Che-siang 陳世祥, prénom Chan-pé 善伯. Licencié en 1339, mandarin de Sing-ngan, il ne s'entendit pas avec ses supérieurs et se retira à Lang-chan. Son surnom

* La vie est comme un songe, la mort c'est comme le reveil après e songe; c.-à.-d. le temps est venu où je vais devenir esprit.

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était San-mou 散木. Il compila les poésies de 16 poètes remarquables et donna à son recueil le nom de Han-yn-tsi 含影集.

C. Sous les Ta-Tsing 大清 (De 1644 à 1752).

1° Suen Hong-ta 孫閎達 prénom Tien-che 天仕. Admis au Doctorat en 1664 il fut mandarin à Tai-yuen 太原; il sut par ses bonnes œuvres s'attirer l'affection du peuple, qui le surnommait Suen Fou 孫佛, le Bouddha Suen. Les gens durent se cotiser pour lui payer son voyage de retour, tant était grande sa pauvreté. Il mourut dans la résidence des bonzes à Lang-chan. Il occupa ses dernières années à composer des vers, en buvant du thé et à brûler l'encens. Une pétition adressée à l'empereur demanda et obtint la permission de lui offrir des sacrifices après sa mort. Il fut honoré comme un saint.

2° Li Yu-hong 李玉鋐, prénoms Kong-nan 貢南 et Tan-chan 但山. Gradué en 1705, Docteur en 1706. Il sauva un grand nombre de pauvres gens pendant une inondation alors qu'il était mandarin à Si-ning 西寧. Assistant de deux Ministères, puis grand juge au Fou-kien, il passa les dix dernières années de sa vie à Lang-chan ; toute son occupation était de chanter des poésies. Il fit maintes bonnes œuvres et mourut à 80 ans.

3° Chao Kan 邵幹 prénom Kong-mou 公木, nom honorifique Ou-liu 吾廬. Il avait lu tous les ouvrages connus de son temps, et passait pour le premier littérateur du Nord du Kiang, C'était le poète du jour. Il composa des centaines de poésies.

4° Li Tang 李堂, prénom Sin-keou 心構. Littérateur et poète de renom, gradué aux examens académiques, il travailla à la révision des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*. Mais c'était surtout l'admirateur de la belle nature, le rêveur mélancolique et dilettante. Ses poésies sont intitulées I-tsao-ting 一草亭 et Che-wen-tsi 詩文集.

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Article III.—*Le Bouddha honoré à Lang-chan*

Depuis des siècles on honore sur la montagne du Loup le bonze indien Seng-kia-ta-cheng 僧伽大聖. Il est aussi appelé Se-tcheou Seng-kia-ta-cheng, Seng-kia le grand saint de Se-tcheou 泗州; mais plus souvent il est nommé tout court Le grand saint, Ta cheng 大聖.

On ignore son nom indien, et la contrée d'où il tirait son origine; on sait seulement qu'il venait de l'Ouest de l'Inde. Il ne se prêtait pas du reste aux demandes qu'on lui adressait pour de plus amples renseignements. Lui demandait-on son nom? Il répondait, "Je m'appelle Ho 何." A ceux qui s'avisaient de l'interroger sur son pays natal il donnait la même réponse: "Je suis du royaume de Ho." On avait fini par l'appeler Le bonze Ho. Tous les auteurs sont d'accord pour fixer sa mort en l'année 710: il y a divergence seulement pour l'époque de son arrivée en Chine.

Le Chen-sien-tong-kien et d'autres auteurs prétendent qu'il n'y entra qu'après le règne de l'usurpatrice Ou-heou 武后, vers 705. Les *Annales des cinq Montagnes* donnent leur préférence au récit du Cheou-chen-ki 搜神記, et affirment que son arrivée en Chine remonte à la période Long-cho 龍朔, 661-664, pendant le règne de Tang Kao-tsong 唐高宗. Il est facile du reste de déterminer l'année précise, car il avait alors 30 ans, disent les Annalistes, et il resta en Chine 53 ans; ce serait donc la seconde année de Hien-king 顯慶, 657, qu'il arriva en Chine, puis qu'il mourut en 710. Il y a évidemment erreur dans l'un ou l'autre des affirmations des Annalistes. S'il est vrai qu'il vînt pendant l'époque Long-cho il ne peut pas avoir vécu encore 53 ans.

Après s'être rendu à Tchang-ngan 長安 et à Lo yang 洛陽, il reprit la route du Sud, parcourant le pays, en tenant une branche de saule à la main et une fiole d'eau lustrale.

En 696 l'impératrice Ou-heou le manda à la cour; il n'y fit sans doute qu'un court séjour, car pendant la même période Tong-tien 通天, 696-697,* nous le retrouvons à la pagode de Long-hing-se 龍興寺 à Tchou-tcheou 楚州. Sous le

* Le *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, livre XIX art. 4, p. 2, dit que Seng-kia vint habiter cette pagode pendant l'époque Chen-long, 705-707 ap. J. C.

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règne de Tchong-tsong 中宗, pendant la période de règne King-long 景龍, 707-710, il se dirigea vers Ling-hoai 臨淮, sous-préfecture dépendante alors de Se-tcheou, et il résolut d'y bâtir une pagode. Arrivé au Sud de la montagne Sou-chan 宿山 il appelle un des habitants du pays, nommé Ho Pa 賀跋, prénom Hiuen-tsi 玄濟, et lui manifeste son intention de bâtir une pagode sur l'emplacement de sa maison. Pour donner plus de crédit à sa demande il se transforma en Koan-yng à onze visages. Ho Pa, effrayé, lui fit don de sa propriété. Le bonze lui dit, "Sur cet emplacement il y avait autrefois une pagode bouddhique."* Seng-kia fit creuser la terre et on déterra une stèle de pierre appartenant à une ancienne pagode du temps des Tsi 齊, 479-501. Ce vieux temple portait le nom de Hiang-tsi-se 香積寺, et avait été bâti par un nommé Li Long-kien 李龍建. Les caractères gravés sur la stèle ne laissait aucun doute à cet endroit. Pendant les fouilles on retrouva aussi une statue d'or;† tous les gens prêsents prétendaient que c'était la statue de Jan-teng 燃燈 (Dipamkara, le premier des 21 bouddhas du précédent Kalpa).‡ Le bonze mieux renseigné, soutint que c'était la statue de Pou-tchao wang.§ De fait on trouva, écrits sur la statue, les caractères Pou-tchao wang fou 普照王佛, Bouddha-roi Pou-tchao. Cette découverte ne tarda pas à être connue dans tous les alentours.

Sur ces entrefaites le prince impérial fut tué dans une bataille; l'empereur Tchong-tsong fit mander le bonze Ho à la cour, pour diriger les cérémonies funèbres, la seconde année de King-long 景龍, 708. Un char impérial fut mis à sa disposition pour le voyage à la capitale Tchang-ngan 長安, où il fut reçu avec de grands honneurs par l'émpereur et toute sa cour.

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* Vraisemblablement le malin bonze avait appris que cet homme s'était approprié un ancien terrain de pagode, comme cela arrive souvent en Chine après les époques de troubles. Il voulut bénéficier d'un revirement momentané pour rentrer en possession de cette propriété.

† Ou peut-être simplement dorée: l'expression kin siang 金像 a souvent ce dernière sens.

‡ Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 67.

§ *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, pp. 209 et 264.

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Ce fut en cette circonstance que Tchong-tsong lui décerna le titre de Kouo-che 國師, Maître du royaume. Nous trouvons ici l'explication de l'exergue écrit sur les images populaires, et sur les Tche-ma 紙馬 * imprimés en l'honneur de ce bouddha: Ta-cheng-kouo-che-wang 大聖國師王 Grand saint roi maître du royaume.

On lui assigna pour résidence la pagode Tsien-fou-se 薦福寺, où habitait le bonze Wan-hoei 萬廻, appelé les années précédentes par l'impératrice Ou-heou 武后. Wan-hoei traita le nouveau venu avec déférence, mais Seng-kia lui dit, "Pourquoi habites-tu cette pagode? tu peux t'en aller." Wan-hoei répondait seulement par une inclination de tête; il n'objecta rien mais resta quand même. Seng-kia habitait une chambre privée. La légende rapporte que sa tête était percée d'un trou qu'il bouchait pendant la journée avec de la bourre de coton; la nuit venue, il enlevait le tampon, alors un odeur des plus suaves s'échappait de sa tête et parfumait ses appartements. Dès l'aube ces émanations odoriférantes rentraient dans le trou de sa tête. On se disputait l'eau qui avait servi à ses bains de pieds: les malades qui en buvaient étaient guéris.

Une grand sécheresse étant survenue, l'empereur pria le bonze de faire cesser le fléau. Seng-kia plongea sa branche de saule dans sa fiole d'eau lustrale et en aspergea la terre: bientôt une pluie abondante tomba sur les campagnes et sauva les moissons.

L'empereur, en reconnaissance de ce bienfait, consentit à écrire de sa main une inscription pour sa pagode de Ling-hoai. L'inscription proposée était, Pou-tchao-wang-se, Pagode du roi Pou-tchao. Une difficulté s'y opposait, car le caractère Tchao 照 de cette inscription faisait partie du titre d'honneur de l'impératrice. Par respect pour la souveraine il fut changé contre le caractère koang 光, qui a le même sens, et l'empereur écrivit les quatres caractères Pou-koang-wang-se 普光王寺; cette inscription fut gravée et appendue au frontispice de la pagode de Ling-hoai.

* Sur ces tche-ma à son effigie on représente aussi une tour, parce que l'empereur bâtit un stupa sur son tombeau à Ling-hoai-hien.

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La quatrième année de King-long, 710, Seng-kia tomba malade; il se retira dans la pagode de Tsien-fou-se 薦福寺, à la capitale, et y mourut le 2me jour de la 3me lune.* Il avait 83 ans, et habitait la Chine depuis 53 ans. A la nouvelle de sa mort l'empereur donna ordre d'embaumer son corps et d'élever un stupa sur son tombeau. A peine ces ordres étaient-ils donnés, qu'une puanteur insupportable s'échappa du corps de Seng-kia et menaçait d'empester la capitale. On en conclut que le bonze désirait être inhumé près de sa pagode de Ling-hoai. L'empereur, instruit de ce prodige, agréa la proposition des officiers de la cour. Dès qu'il eut contremandé les préparatifs pour les funérailles à la capitale, immédiatement un parfum exquis s'échappa du cadavre, la ville en fut embaumée.† Cette même année, le 5me de la 5me lune, le corps du bonze Ta-cheng fut porté à Ling-hoai et déposé sous un stupa érigé pour le recevoir. De par ordonnance impériale tous les mandarins durent assister à la levée du corps, et le conduire avec honneur jusqu'aux portes de la capitale; les notables et le peuple l'accompagnèrent jusqu'à la rivière Pa 滻.

Après la mort de Seng-kia l'empereur demanda à Wan-hoei, son compagnon dans la pagode de Tsien-fou-se, quelle était au juste l'origine de ce bonze indien? Wan-hoei répondit qu'il était un avatar du Pou-sah Koan-yng.

Degagée de toute légende sa notice peut se résumer en ces quelques lignes.

Seng-kia-ta-cheng fut un bonze de l'Ouest de l'Inde, qui vint en Chine vers 661 selon les uns, ou vers 705 d'après le Chen-sien-tong-kien. Après avoir passé quelques années dans la pagode Long-hing-se, à Tchou-tcheou 楚州 (Hoai-ngan-fou 淮安府. Kiang-sou), il vint bâtir une pagode à Ling-hoai

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* Le Chen-sien-tong-kien donne comme date de sa mort le 12me de la première troisième lune, (avant la seconde troisième lune intercalaire).

† Ne serait-ce point une invention ingénieuse ourdie par quelques lettrés ennemis des bonzes, pour décider l'empereur à renvoyer le mort dans son ancienne pagode? C'est un moyen bien chinois, et souvent employé avec succès: c'est le perpétuel tournoi de la ruse contre la force.

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hien 臨淮縣. alors sous-préfecture de Se-tcheou 泗州. En 708 l'empereur Tchong-tsong le manda à la capitale, pour présider aux funérailles du prince impérial, et lui conféra le titre honorifique de "Maitre du royaume." L'an 710 il mourut à Tchang-ngan; ses restes fut transférés auprès de sa pagode de Ling-hoai, où l'empereur bâtit un stupa en sa mémoire.

Pendant tout son séjour en Chine ce bonze se posa en avatar du bouddha Koan-yng, et fut ensuite honoré comme tel sur la montagne du Loup, qui devint un des plus célèbres lieux de pélerinage du Kiang-sou. *

La caractéristique de Seng-kia.—Un œil peu accoutumé à découvrir l'intime pensée des bonzes pourrait lire le précédente notice, et les légendes qui y sont consignées, sans se rendre un compte assez exact des moyens employés par Seng-kia pour jouer son personnage, et pourtant sa principale préoccupation parait bien tendre à ce but capital:—persuader les gens qu'il est une réincarnation de Koan-yng-pou-sah.

1° Dès son arrivée en Chine, après avoir visité Lo-yang et Tchang-ngan il parcourt les provinces du Sud, portant à la main une branche de saule et une fiole d'eau lustrale. Or, ce sont là précisément les deux principales caractéristiques de Koan-yng; sur les images on trouve ordinairement ces deux attributs.

2° Quel est son principal argument pour rentrer en possession de l'ancien terrain de pagode occupé par Ho Pa? Il se vante d'être le bouddha Koan-yng; il le somme de lui céder sa maison et, dit la légende, pour l'effrayer il se présente à lui avec l'apparence de "Koan-yng à onze visages."

3° Quand l'empereur l'invite à faire cesser la sécheresse, quel moyen prend-il? Le même toujours, il trempe sa branche de saule dans l'eau de sa fiole et asperge la terre.

Le jour de la fête de Koan-yng les payens, dans plusieurs pays, disposent un récipient plein d'eau et une branche de

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom VII, pp. 263-270: *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, pp. 5-7.

† *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie III, Vie de Cakyamouni: la branche de saule et l'eau lustrale

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saule, qu'ils exposent devant leurs maisons, pour que Koan-yng en les aspergeant les bénisse et les comble de ses bienfaits. †

4° Quand l'empereur demanda au bonze Wan-hoei l'origine de Seng-kia, le bonze ne trouva pas de mot plus typique comme réponse : "Ç'est un avatar de Koan-yng."

5° Précisément parce que cette idée s'était enracinée dans l'esprit de ses contemporains, on pensa à lui élever un temple à Lang-chan, très spécialement dédié au culte de Koan-yng, dès l'origine, comme nous allons le constater bientôt en étudiant les premiers débuts de ce monastère bouddhique.

6° Après la victoire remportée à Lang-chan en 1512, le 18e de la 7e lune, contre Lieou-tsi 劉七 et sa flotte, une pierre commémorative fut érigée sur la montagne, et sur cette stêle on grava le récit des événements. Les autorités civiles et militaires y expriment leur gratitude pour la protection toute spéciale qu'ils ont reçue de Ta-cheng, avatar véritable de Koan-yng.* Ce n'est donc pas seulement une croyance du bas peuple, mais les lettrés, qui ont composé la pièce, et tout le corps officiel, font comme profession d'y adhérer.

Nous voici donc en présence d'un important pélerinage bouddhique, qui attire chaque année plus de trente mille personnes, et qui doit sa popularité à cette ineptie étrange: Ta-cheng est une réincarnation de Koan-yng,

Une quarantaine d'années après la mort de Seng-kia un autre bonze arrivait de l'Inde et allait se fixer sur la montagne de Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山 au Ngan-hoei 安徽; son nom était Mou-lien 目連. Pour fixer sa popularité il se donne lui aussi comme un réincarnation de Mandgalyayana, le célèbre disciple de Çakyamouni, et qui comme lui se nommait Mou-lien. Dès lors il commence à jouer son rôle avec aplomb; comme le grand disciple du maître, il descend aux enfers pour en tirer sa mère, il organise une association pour retirer les femmes du "Lac sanglant" des enfers, bref, il soutient si bien son personnage qu'après sa mort il devient un bouddha vénéré par les foules et l'objet d'un culte quasi universel. Telle est l'origine du fameux pélerinage de Kieou-hoa-chan.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, p. 8.

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Ces deux hommes furent ce qu'on appelle de nos jours d'habiles chevaliers d'industrie. Comédiens de talent, ils se sont affublés d'une noblesse surhumaine, provenant de titres imaginaires et prenant sa source dans la poussière des tombeaux; par leurs audacieux mensonges ils ont exercé une grande influence sur les masses populaires, où ne pénètre que peu de lumière, et où circule surtout la légende des hommes et des choses.

Le titre posthume, gravé sur les inscriptions à l'honneur de Ta-cheng et sur ses images, est ainsi conçu: Se-tcheou Ta-cheng, ming-kio pou-tchao kouo-che 泗州大聖明覺普照國師; Grand Saint de Se-tcheou, maître du royaume, dont la sagesse éclatante illumine le monde.

[*La Suite dans le numéro prochain.*]

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jên tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house. *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or sun hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge.

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family.

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year.

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue.

They beg a prayer-tally, 求簽 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month);

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chên-wu chai 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions.

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou ts'o-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol.

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions.

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling.

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Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations.

Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high-poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

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Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家錢 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyêka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to.

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. Thesè cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases.

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing.

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu ôrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy

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their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

It is believed that deformed and maimed births 劂精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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CHAPTER II

PASSING THROUGH CRISES

(OR, CROSSING THE BARRIERS 度關 *tu kuan*)

To take children through the important crises in their lives is the work of a sorcerer. On consultation the fortune-teller announces the critical times in the child's life, when that life may be in danger. The sorcerer's help is then asked for, and he invokes the aid of the *k'ai-kuan t'u-ti* 開關土地 the precinct god who opens barriers.

The following are a few of the crises or barriers which may occur in a child's life, and with respect to which he must be carefully guarded.

There is the 短命關 *tuan ming kuan* or short-life barrier, which means that the child may die at any age before 12 years. At 12 the barrier or crisis is over. There is also the 100-days barrier; the child is not safe till past that age.

The Buddhist-priest barrier 和尙關 *ho-shang kuan*, means there is danger that the boy will run away from home and become a priest, which is equivalent to losing him altogether.

The "knock-door crisis" 撞門關 *ch'uang mên kuan* means there is danger that the child some time visiting a neighbour's house will get bitten by a dog or catch

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some infectious disease. This barrier is avoided in the following fashion. The parents take the child out for a walk, and accost the first person they meet, pedlar, beggar, or what not. They salute him and tell him the matter, asking him to become surety for the child. If he consents he will give the child a new name and become his *kan tieh* 乾爹 informal adoptive father (or *kan ma* 乾媽 adoptive mother). The person is then invited to the house and food put before him, and the same evening the necessary ceremony, much the same as in sorcery, is performed in the house.

The danger may be that the child must pass the *lei-kung kuan* Thunder-god barrier, or be killed, as the Chinese say, by thunder. Such death is regarded as evidence of the special displeasure of Heaven.

Another crisis is the *ch'ü-ming kuan* 取命關 or taking-life barrier. There is danger of the child's life being taken by a demon. In this case a butcher is asked to become surety or adoptive father, because he carries a knife and can thus frighten away the slaying demon. Much the same ceremony is performed as in the "knock-door crisis."

It may be threatened that some heavy or sharp article shall fall on the child and kill it; this is a *tao-chên kuan* 刀砧關 or knife and anvil crisis. A butcher with his knife or a blacksmith with his sledgehammer is sought as *kan tieh*.

The danger may be that of drowning, *lo-shui kuan* 落水關. Any willing person may be made *kan tieh* in this case.

The *p'ei-ma kuan* 披麻關 or donning-sackcloth barrier, means that there is danger the child may be left an orphan, or that he will fall sick if he sees anyone in mourning.

The crisis to be dreaded may be that the child will one day fall through a hole in some bridge and be drowned. This is the *tuan-ch'iao kuan* 斷橋關 or broken-bridge crisis.

The child may be liable to the *chiang-chün kuan* 將軍關; that is, he may be accidentally shot. To avert this calamity, or to get past this barrier he must worship at the tomb of some military general 將軍, or at some memorial stone. Such a lad will most likely carry through life the nickname *pei* 碑 or tablet, because he worshipped at the stone slab.

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There is a crisis recurring at 3, 6 and 9 years old, ***san liu chiu sui kuan*** 三六九歲關. The child with this threat on him is not allowed to travel far or visit any house where a corpse or coffin may be till he is ten years old.

The white tiger barrier 白虎關 *pai-hu kuan*, means that a dog will bite the child, or a demon attack him, or that he will be left an orphan.

There is fear that the child will be made ill by the sight of blood: this is called the blood-dish barrier 血盤關 *hsüeh-p'ên kuan*. A butcher is the proper *kan tieh* to be sought for in this case.

There is danger lest the child should be scalded by the upsetting of a kettle of water or burned by the fire-brazier in the winter. The people are in the habit of putting the fire-basket under their clothes or even taking it to bed with them with the result that many lives are lost and much property destroyed.

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGES 婚姻 *Hun Yin.*

Betrothal may take place very early; friends will sometimes betroth their unborn children.

Marriage with one of the same family name is forbidden by law; but such marriages do take place when there is a different ancestry, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung.*

A male go-between is called 媒 *mei*, and a female is 妁 *cho.* Marriages are said to be arranged by 父母之命媒妁之言 *fu mu chih ming mei cho chih yen,* "Parents' will and middleman's words." The children are supposed to have nothing to do with the arrangements, but in fact their likes and dislikes count for a good deal.

Another name for the go-between is *hung-yeh* 紅葉 red leaf. The term originated in the T'ang dynasty. A female palace-slave whose life was made bitter by her imperial mistress wrote her troubles on a red leaf and threw this into the moat. A young scholar got it and forwarded a reply in the same romantic way. Later some of the slaves were married off by imperial orders, and the girl fell to the lot of the scholar without their knowing till afterwards that they had been the corresponding parties.

Preparing the horoscope before marriage is called *k'ai pa tzŭ* 開八字, preparing the eight characters. These characters give the year, month, day and hour of birth. The

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saying is, "The man's horoscope is never false; the woman's never true." A fortune-teller is called in to examine the girl's horoscope, and if he finds it is an unlucky one it will be falsified before being reported to the family with whom a marriage is sought.

It is said that in the time of Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 a barbarian chief wished for marriage relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese professed willingness, but warned the barbarian Man-tzŭ that it would be unlucky for them if marriages were made with unsuitable horoscopes. They were then able to decline marriage on the ground that 八字不合 *pa tzŭ pu ho*, the horoscopes do not agree. To this day, in refusing a proposal of marriage the people almost always say *jên k'ên hun pu k'ên* 人肯婚不肯, "We are willing but the horoscope is not."

The parents who seek a bride for their son first find a middleman, or more likely he finds them. They ask him to take presents to the home of a certain girl and to beg that her horoscope may be sent them for examination. The middleman has probably already paved the way, and he soon brings back the horoscop which is put on the family altar for from 3 to 8 days to see if anything happens, good or bad. If a bowl is broken during this time, or something lost, or a cat or dog dies, the horoscope is promptly returned as being unlucky. This is called *t'ui hung kêng* 退紅庚. If on the contrary some piece of luck befalls during this period, an astrologer is called in to examine the two horoscopes and see if they agree. The comparison may show upper, middle or lower degree of suitability. If the boy's parents are satisfied with the horoscope they send the middleman to the girl's parents to say they feel quite unworthy to be related to such an exalted family, but since there was such condescension they were willing to fix the agreement *hsia p'in shu* 下聘書, *hui hua* 回話, or *ch'a hua* 插花. Much depends on the go-between, and as it is difficult to prevent bribery there is great need for caution and private enquiry.

The girl's parents reply 寫允書 *hsieh yün shu*, generally saying their daughter is weak and useless, but they are willing

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to give her to the others' exalted son to wife. Samples of the girl's needlework and embroidery are also sent for the boy's parents to inspect.

The lad's parents then draw up the *hun shu* 婚書 or form of agreement, leaving a blank space for the girl's name and other particulars about her. A lucky day is selected and presents of silk,. chickens, ducks, etc., prepared. The go-between takes these to the girl's home, and asks that the particulars about the girl may be filled in on the *hun shu*. This done, he worships at the family shrine in the girl's home, using incense and candles specially bought for the occasion. Then presents are returned in the same box which brought the others, and the middleman or a representative of the girl's family worships at the shrine in the boy's home.

On the agreement are written the characters 天長 *t'ien ch'ang* above the boy's horoscope, and 地久 *ti chiu* above the girl's. The meaning is that the agreement is as lasting as heaven and earth. It is really as binding as any known in China, and the saying is that a lawsuit about a marriage agreement or about land will go through eighteen courts before being settled. Other proverbs are 說給猪跟猪走說給狗坐地守 "If engaged to a pig you must go its way; if to a dog you must sit down and bear it." And 說給叫化子提沙鍋也要跟到披蓆片. "If engaged to a beggar, pick up the earthenware bowl and follow the sleeping-rags."

In some cases when a family has become poor after betrothal and before the wedding, a girl will cut off her hair in the bridal chair, which results in her being sent home again. After this her only resource is to become a nun; yet even in the temple she may still be claimed by her betrothed at any time. In cases where parents wish to break off an engagement because the other family has become poor a lawsuit is certain. One man in such a case was bound down not to take a wife for his son till he had sent his daughter to her betrothed: thus cutting off the line of succession and putting both families on the same footing.

The home which is to receive the bride gets a fortune-teller to fix a lucky day; he also arranges the hour for every movement of hers. This is called *k'an nien yüeh* 看年月,

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and the announcement of the date to friends is *siing* 送 *nien-yüeh*. This may be sent some months beforehand, after which presents are sent in, accompanied with music and flags.

When the date of the marriage is fixed the times for the following are also arranged: the day for cutting the bride's clothing; the day for placing the bed in position; the hour for 開臉 *k'ai lien*, or pulling out the hair on brow and neck to make the bride look older; and the time for putting up her hair. Till marriage all girls wear the hair in a queue; just before marriage it is put up in a coil at the back of the head. In asking if a girl is engaged it is common to ask if she has put her hair up or not, 上梳 *shang liu*. Times are also fixed for treading on the bushel; when she shall take leave of the family idols; when she must leave the parental roof; when she shall worship at the family shrine in her new home; and when the bridal cup shall be shared by the young couple. This partaking of the cup is called *chiao pei chiu* 交杯酒; it may be a cup of wine, tea or not a cup at all but a piece of squash, which they pull apart and both eat; it is their mutual pledge. All these times are fixed by the astrologer, are written on red paper and are announced to the bride's parents when the presents are sent, so that they may prepare accordingly.

Furniture, (chairs, bed, cupboard, etc.), are prepared by the bride's parents, quality and quantity depending on the family's means. The things are often given over to the bridegroom's representatives some days before the wedding, so that the bed may be placed in position on a lucky day.

The wedding things include tea-cups and tea-pot, flower vases, clothing for bride and bridegroom, etc., etc. A well-to-do bride will perhaps have hundred or more garments, besides bedding, curtains, mirrors, etc., more than she can use in a lifetime. The silversmith has to make bangles, chains, earrings etc., and so great is the expense of marrying a girl off that the saying goes, *ch'ien nü ju fên chia* 遣女如分家, "Marrying a daughter is like dividing the inheritance."

In some places some young, fat pigs are driven along together with the bridal outfit; in other parts animals of various kinds are sent afterwards as part of the dowry.

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The bridegroom's parents invite his friends for the night before the marriage 花夜 *hua yeh*; they dress him, put on his ceremonial hat, deck his hair with flowers, put red cloth round his shoulders, and afterwards, in good families, he feasts them. Then he makes obeisance to his parents and worships at the family altar.

When the wedding day has come the groom's friends invoke the family gods and send off the middleman, accompanied by a relative, to bring home the bride, 娶親 *ch'ü ch'in*. They take with them a flowered sedan-chair, a band of flute-players with gongs, flags, and ceremonial umbrellas. They take besides the following articles: two eggs, to comfort the bride's forehead after the pulling out of the hair; two plaits of hair to be used in putting up the bride's hair, to make it look more; a large sheet of red paper to cover the bushel on which she must tread; a large piece of red cloth or silk for a veil; one big and one small comb, said to be used only this once; a bundle of five-coloured silk threads for dressing the bride's hair; a pot of oil for her toilet, a red cord for her hair, cosmetics, colouring for the lips, bandages for the feet, etc. These all go before or with the deputation which fetches the bride. The materials for her dresses or money to buy them are delivered earlier unless other arrangements have been made, but generally the bride's home provides most of her clothing and ornaments.

She takes leave of her ancestors 拜家神 *pai chia-shên*, by worshipping at the family shrine, and 辭祖宗 *tz'ŭ tsu-tsung*, and makes obeisance to her parents. The mistress of ceremonies throws down a bundle of chopsticks 丟筷子 *tiu k'uai-tzŭ* before the altar as evidence that the bride renounces her maiden home and will henceforth eat the rice of another.

Then the bride is dressed, on a carpet, and under a canopy of red cloth; the materials just brought from the bride-groom's home being used.

Her toilet finished, and the veil being put over her, a bushel full of unhulled rice is placed in the doorway and covered with red paper, and she is made to tread on it, 出閣踏斗 *ch'u ho t'a tou*. After this she has to be carried

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out and put into the flowered chair at the door. The unwillingness of brides at this point has become proverbial,—*na-ko hsin-jên k'ên shang chiao* 那個新人肯上轎. "What bride was ever willing to enter the chair?"

She carries in the chair with her a foot-rule, scissors, a brass mirror and some five-coloured threads: these are to protect her from demons on the road. She is tied in, and often locked in, the key being carried by the middleman or by the bridegroom's relative who has come with him.

To sit in the flowery chair makes the day of a lifetime for many a bride; and if there is only a short distance to go, they will often wish to be carried round the neighbourhood in this way, with the music, flags and umbrellas, that it may not be said of them in after years that they came in a common chair.

Before this chair is sent to bring the bride the bridegroom sacrifices to it, a stick of incense is placed at each of the four chair-poles, wine is poured on the ground at each corner, while someone kneels and worships the chair lest the *hsin-jên sha* 親人煞 the evil influences of brides who have used the chair before should still adhere to it.

On reaching the door of her new home the bride finds a table on which is a measure of rice with candles and incense stuck in it. The master of ceremonies calls out 女家車馬請回轉男家車馬出來迎. "Bridal chariots please return; bridegroom's chariots come forth and receive." It is supposed that the spirits of her home escort her so far, but on entering the house she comes under the guardianship of the spirits of her husband's home.

She is received by a specially appointed person, who receives the key, gets her out of the chair and leads her to the chief room in her new home. The bridegroom, escorted by his friends, soon appears and the marriage ceremony is performed. Two candles are lighted on the altar, and the pair kneel and worship Heaven and Earth and their ancestors. They then salute one another with a bow, and at this point the husband may lift the veil and look on his bride's face for the first time.

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A youth then carries the two candles from the altar into the *tung fang* 洞房 nuptial chamber very carefully, not changing the right and left hand position of the two, and letting nothing befall them. Then the groom leads the bride into this chamber, and they drink together the nuptial cup 交杯酒 *chiao pei chiu.* The candles are allowed to burn out. If that on the left goes out first the husband will die first; if that on the right, the wife will be first to die. A light is kept in the room all night with the idea that there will be continuous light in the home and always someone to attend to the family altar and the ancestral sacrifices.

When the pair have had a little time together they return to the chief room, where people come in turn to offer congratulations. A good deal of importance is attached to priority in doing this. Rich persons with large families are preferred. No widow or widower would be allowed to escort or receive, or to be first in congratulating. The guests bow, while the newly wedded couple kneel and knock their heads on the ground 磕頭 *k'o t'ou.*

At the feast which follows, men and women sit separate. The bride eats nothing the first day in her new home. All who have given presents are invited and regard it as a right.

In the evening the intimate friends of the bridegroom enter the private apartments, examine the bride's hands and feet, make rude remarks about her clothing, ability, general appearance, etc. Her clothing will be examined and tried on, but she must sit still through it all and say nothing. About midnight the visitors depart.

On or about the third day the bride returns to her parents' home, accompanied by her husband. Day and hour are fixed by the wife's parents, who send someone to meet them. A feast is prepared and guests invited to meet the bridegroom. If it rains on that day it is said the bridegroom rides a dog. The same is said of the bride if it rains on the wedding day.

There is a table with wine at the door of the bride's old home, "to stop the horses of the bridegroom," and he has almost always to drink before he can enter the house.

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The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest.

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩 女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law."

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people.

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup).

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住當 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes.

[To be continued]

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Reverend Timothy Richard, whose portrait is the frontispiece of this number, played a remarkable part in the awakening of China. He was not noted for scholarship; he had no official post of authority; he was not a wealthy philanthropist; but by the power of a unique personality he so won the esteem of the Chinese that few foreigners have had a greater influence upon the more intelligent and open-minded among them; he was the best exponent to this nation of the spirit of western civilization and religion.

A sketch of his life and work may be given in a later number.

* * *

Professor Paul Pelliot has been appointed to succeed his friend and collaborator the late Professor E. Chavannes at the Collège de France, a notable appointment. He passed through Shanghai on May 10, on his way from Siberia to Paris. We hope the present volume of the Review will be enriched by some articles by him.

* * *

In the note on foot-binding (p. 92) several mistakes have been pointed out. Yang Shêng-an, of the T'ang dynasty, is better known as Yang Shên 楊愼 (his *hao* was Shêng-an);

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and he lived in the Ming dynasty; the work referred to is the 丹鉛錄. At the end of the paragraph 漢武梁祠 has, of course, nothing to do with the Emperor Wu-ti and his ancestral hall, but is the Wu family's tomb in Shantung, made so well known to us by Prof. Chavannes' elaborate study. It is strange how such a mistake could have passed unobserved by the Editor.

* * *

Referring to Prof. Parker's note about a shih-tzŭ kuan 什字自 in Si-an fu, Mr. H. I. Harding writes that there is a shih-tzŭ ssŭ 什字祠 near Peking in the Fang-shan district, in an out of the way corner at the foot of the mountains. Mr. Harding thinks the situation precludes the idea of a Christian church, apart from the question whether Nestorianism ever existed in that part of China.

The most obvious solution of the term is that the temple was at some cross-roads, but Mr. Harding's temple is at the entrance to a narrow defile, and he thinks the lie of the land makes it inconceivable that there was ever another road at that place.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER.

With regard to Mayers' account of Sun K'uan (*Manual*, p. 194), the *Wu chï* says that Liu Pei defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao and then Sun K'uan attacked Ho-fei. The *Wei chï* says that Sun K'uan (on behalf of Liu Pei) first attacked Ho-fei, and then Liu Pei defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao at Ch'ih-pih. The commentator says that the *Wu chï* is right, and that Liu Pei first defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao at Ch'ih-pih. In any case Mayers is totally wrong, for Sun K'uan was then Liu Pei's general. Ts'ao Ts'ao (p. 232) was Duke of Wei; ■ is a superfluous and erroneous addition; moreover the title was conferred on him by the emperor, who married three of his daughters, the middle one becoming Empress in 215. In this year Sun K'uan laid siege again to Ho-fei, but was defeated by Ts'ao Ts'ao.

* * *

Mayers' *Manual*, p. 49; the words "By order of the Empress Lu" are misleading.

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After ravaging parts of Kiang Si the rebel Hwang Ch'ao crossed the Yangtsze at Ning-kwo Fu (自宣州渡江), and from 浙東 tried to get into Fuh Kien. This seems to mean that at that date one of the main Yangtsze mouths still ran past the lakes, almost from Wuhu to Yangchow. Mayers (p. 69) is wrong: the rebellion did not break out in Kwang Si but in Shan Tung. Being unable to get boats, the rebel worked his way south. Cannibalism on a wholesale and systematic scale was practised by Hwang Ch'ao's army in 883; 舂磨俘 was the name of the place where the prisoners were roasted and eaten 俘人爲食其炮炙之處謂之 | | | and mountains of human bones were stacked there 白骨山積. Never in the whole previous or subsequent history of China was there such misery and ruin. Even after the peace cannibalism 膾人而食 was universal.

* * *

Mayers' T'ang dynasty dates require overhauling. As to accessions, 618, 627 are correct; 650 should be 649, and the first 684 should be 683; the next two 684 are right; 710 is correct, but 713 should be 712; 755 is correct, but 763 and 780 should be 762 and 779. The date 805 is correct, but 806 should also be 805, and all the rest to the end are one year wrong; they should be 820, 824, 826, 840, 846, 859, 873, 888, 904.

* * *

The whole of Mayers' (T'ang) *nien-hao* are right as printed, without a single exception; but there are a few omissions: thus, in 684 there was a short reign 文明, and in 696 a short reign 萬歲登封. In 710 there was a short period 唐隆, and in 712 先天. These, (and many other of Mayers' printed dates) sometimes only lasted a few months, but it is necessary to record them, in order to identify dates of Tibetan and Tartar battles cited in history. The latter part of 761 and the first part of 762 were called 元年 written without any *nien-hao*, and there was a good deal of revolutionary messing about, at various periods of the T'angs, with months, and with changes of new year's day, in the French style of 130 years ago.

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One of Mayers' dates, 大 中 (847) is incorrectly printed 太 中. It must be remembered, too, that from 683 to 806 most of the *nien-hao* begin in the summer or autumn, and are thus spread over two years. Mayers' Tiao-shêng (695) is an error for Chêng-shêng.

* * *

It is important to note that the year B. C. 1 庚 申 preceded the year A. D. 1 辛 酉 and there is no year "zero". The year B. C. 5 was the first occasion of a four-character year 太 初 元 將, which was created in the 6th moon and afterwards cancelled. Owing to these four characters having been followed by 元 年, historians have got "mixed" with the two 元, and have made a mess of the record.

* * *

All Mayers' accession dates for the Early Han dynasty are one year wrong (except the first). Thus, 194 should be 195 B. C.: and thus also all the way down to A. D. 1. which should be B. C. 1, and A. D. 6, which should be A. D. 5. Here the history of the Early Han closes. All Mayers *nien-hao* are correct, except the three first, which the Han Shu gives as 後 元 年, 中 元 年, etc., each being followed by 二 年, 三 年, etc. The *nien-hao* did not really begin till B. C. 116: the rest were "created" after.

* * *

Mayers (p. 241, No. 804) is wrong in saying Ai Ti died in B. C. 2; he died B. C. 1. Moreover Wang Mang was not appointed 大 司 馬 until the accession of P'ing Ti in B. C. 1, and the suicide of his rival 董 賢.

* * *

All Mayers' *nien-hao* dates of the Ch'en dynasty are correct, though the first month of each was by no means always the beginning of the year. The year 557 is a correct accession date; all the other accession dates are one year wrong, and should be 559, 566, 568, and 582.

* * *

The first Sui year was 581, both for accession and *nien-hao*; 589 was the year when the southern empire was

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conquered too; and 604, not 605, was the accession date of Yang Ti. In both cases 617 is right, for I-ning only began in the 11th moon. The Emperor 侗 is not mentioned as such in Sui history at all, and should be expunged, as he is a mere pretender of the T'ang dynasty, who was extinguished by 王世充.

* * *

All Mayers' *nien-hao* dates for the First Sung dynasty are correct, and half of his accession dates are correct. The ones which are wrong are 423, 454, 465 and 473, which should be 422, 453, 464, 472. Moreover the reign 永光 belongs to 前廢帝, and not to 孝武. As to 後廢帝 whose name was 昱, I can find no authority for 蒼梧王 in the *Sung Shu*. He was a bastard, whose father was 李道兒, kept by the childless Emperor on the premises, somewhat after the fashion of the "eunuch" Pi-siao Li 屁消李 to-day.

* * *

All the corrected dates already published * for the half-dozen or so of dynasties are primarily intended for Mayers, but of course they also apply to the lists in Giles' Dictionary, which appears in this respect to follow Mayers' *Manual*.

* * *

The last Toba emperor (532) on mounting the throne enveloped seven men in black felt 以黑氈蒙七人 in accordance with old local custom 用代都舊制 as practised by the Tartars at Ta-t'ung fu; and of these men Kao Hwan, who had raised him to the throne, was one 歡居其一. The Emperor stood on the felt and bowed westwards to heaven. All this sounds like the doings, 700 years later, of Genghis Khan.

* * *

In 604 Yang Ti also employed several hundred thousand men to make a canal crossing the Yellow River and joining parts of Honan on each side of it. In 605 over a million men and women were made to join the Yellow River to the Hwai and the 穀洛水. The great road through the mountains

* In *China Review*, vols. xxiv, xxv.—*Ed. N. C. R.*

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雞太行山 from modern Chih Li to T'ai-yuan Fu was constructed by the forced labour of the prefectures in **河北** in the year 607. That year Yang Ti was visiting the Khan at **榆林**, from which place to **紫河** he built a Great Wall in ten days, one million persons being put to the work, and half of them died. In 608 a million of both sexes were employed to dig a canal joining the **沁** and Yellow River, so as to get to **涿郡**; therefore at that time the Yellow River must have come out near Tientsin. In the same year 200,000 men were employed in building a wall eastwards from **榆林谷**; perhaps this last refers to the Yu-lin north of Peking and not to the other of Shen Si. In 611 the Emperor travelled by boat from near Chinkiang to **涿郡**.

* * *

In 573 the Tartar Chou Emperor fixed the rank of the three religions or teachings in the following order: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism. A year later the last two were abolished (until 580), and all sutras, images, etc. were destroyed: bonzes and priests had to revert to lay states. He also reduced his women to two **妃**, three **世婦**, and three **御妻**.

* * *

In various histories mention is made of a Tartar-splashing game, **潑胡**, which, as it is also patronised by Tungusic Emperors, must refer to Turks or Persians. Perhaps it is allied with the Burmese female custom of splashing people with water in the public streets at the New Year, a startling ordeal I have myself undergone. The Tartar custom also was used at the end of the year **縱胡人乞塞甬水澆沃爲戲樂**.

* * *

In 581 the new Sui dynasty abolished the game laws **山澤之禁** (which presumably the Tartar dynasty had had). The Emperor set a tribe of Tartars known as the **稽胡** to repair or build portions of the Great Wall **修築長城**. In 586 in 20 days 111,000 men repaired a second instalment of the Wall, and again 100,000 men in 587. Part of the Grand Canal **開山陽瀆** was formed at this time in the Yangchow region for the conveyance of grain **以通運漕**.

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There is a valuable historical meaning of 丁, for which the "ordinary man" may look in vain in dictionaries; it means "to nail," *rem acu tangere*, to "coincide with." Hence | 未運, "to *fall upon* decadent times," | 斯時 "*hit* the period." Every noun in the Chinese language is in the same way a verb.

* * *

The modern 仰 "we order you" appears in history as early as A.D. 577: 仰東史守合 . . . 所在給其衣食, We therefore order all governors, prefects and magistrates . . . in places concerned, to give such people clothes and victuals."

* * *

The *Peh Shi* records that in the year 401 the learned men were assembled by the first Toba emperor to examine and compare all the characters found in the classics 衆經, when it was found there were over 40,000. In 425 the emperor introduced over 1,000 new characters 新字千餘. He said "Since the first characters were modelled on the basis of birds' foot-prints, they have undergone various changes into 篆 and 隸 and 草 and 楷 [note the sequence] all of which are now in simultaneous use. But irregularities have crept in with time 傳習多失其眞, the shapes of the characters have got wrong, and the forms lack the suggestion of idea originally intended 會義不愜, in such wise that they are unsuited as a model for future students, or, as Confucius said, 名不正則事不成 [referring to the tenets of the 名家]. For this reason we now issue standard forms of those [hitherto unauthorized forms] in current use 世所用者, to serve as perpetual models 永爲楷式."

A note explains that these thousand were over and above the 40,000 characters in the 衆經, or, as another authority puts it, over and above the characters in the *Shwoh-wen*, added by later men. These thousand or more had, according to the *San-kwoh-chi*, already been classified as 異字 by a certain 朱育 of Han times. They were by no means, bastard characters of the Annamo-Tanguto-Tungusic type, and M. Chavannes' suggestion (*Mem. Hist.* LXIV) that the Hiung-nu

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had a script cannot be supported. They evidently wrote in Chinese, and the Turkish language was later written in Sogd character.

* * *

The 阿 in private names must be of very ancient usage. A man named 谷利, having shown scant bravery in A. D. 226, the Wu Emperor said 阿利畏水, "A-li is afraid of the water."

* * *

比至 in the early histories always means "by the time they got there:" in the *Shï-ki* the sentence 數日行; 比至 means "several days' journey; and when *they* got there—." Dr. Hirth (*Roman Orient*) misdivides and misreads the sentence as 行北至 "going north *you* reach—."

* * *

The character 輒 always has the meaning of "ever," as in whenever, wherever, etc., only that it is transposed. Difficult Chinese "empty words" may always be rendered into idiomatic English by transposing our thoughts.

* * *

With reference to my earlier remarks on *the final* 焉, I now find that word which comes nearest fitting it under *all* circumstances is the French *en*, which invariably means (in the same vague way), "at it," "of it," "to it," "by him," "through them," etc.

* * *

The official phrase 踰武騰捷 shows that the first and third characters are not always interchangeable. The first is evidently here equal to 超.

The next issue of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW will contain an etching by Major W. Perceval Yetts, exhibited in this year's Academy (London). The subject is The Mei-shan in Peking.

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